

THE CHICAGO JEWISH FORUM

A Quarterly Magazine

VOLUME 1, No. 2

WINTER 1942-43



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Artists represented in this issue have exhibited in the better galleries both in this country and in Europe.

Peace Congresses: Past and Future

By LOUIS GOTTSCHALK

THE LONGEST PERIOD of comparative peace in the history of civilized Europe corresponds roughly with the first two centuries of the Christian era. It was the famous *Pax Romana* in which the apostle Paul exulted, and was made possible by Rome's domination over Europe and the Mediterranean world. Interrupted by barbarian invasions, wars and conquests, it was prolonged throughout the more robust periods of the Holy Roman Empire. Finally the series of conflicts somewhat unarithmetically called the Thirty Years' War ended the substance that had been the Holy Roman Empire, though permitting the shadow to survive for another hundred and fifty years. The Treaty of Westphalia by which the Congress of Münster brought the Thirty Years' War to a close (1648) ended, perhaps forever, the possibility that world peace might ever again be attained by the fiat of a single dominant empire.

The Congress of Münster, deferring to the waxing vigor of clamorous monarchies and recognizing the waning strength of Roman Empire and Catholic Church, adopted the principle of national sovereignty in international politics. The sovereign states of Europe, now untrammelled by imperial bonds and in some cases only slightly embarrassed by a universal church, found themselves free to enter *marriages de convenance* for mutual profit or for mutual defense against profiteering dynasties. This gave rise to combinations to preserve the "balance of power" between prospective aggressors and their potential victims. For the next century and a half Europe enjoyed hardly

a single decade without a war of one combination against another for the sake of preserving that "balance." To this day it is debatable whether the term "balance of power" is more correctly used to describe a scheme for the preservation of peace or a source of war between selfish alliances.

Some of the wars to preserve the balance of power were world wars in every sense. They were fought on five continents and many seas. They involved all the great powers directly or indirectly. They were clashes of huge armies, fleets, and armaments, whose cost strained the resources of the nations that provided them, fully in proportion to the strain of twentieth-century warfare. Among the most costly of those struggles was the War of the Spanish Succession (Queen Anne's War to us). Fought in Europe, Asia, Africa, North and South America by France, England, Spain, Prussia, Austria, the Netherlands and other countries with the largest armies the world had up to that time seen, it led to the nostalgic speculations of the Abbé de St. Pierre on permanent international peace, which were in their turn responsible for the speculations of Rousseau and Kant. Any hope the worthy abbé might have entertained was frustrated by the Congress of Utrecht which in 1713 wrote the peace that put a temporary end to bloodshed. The Treaty of Utrecht redivided some of the spoils and made possible a rearrangement of the alliances. But the European equilibrium remained as delicate as before and was challenged so frequently in the next century that the fifteen years' truce between 1763 and

1778 is described by contemporaries as a long and uneventful period of peace.

Between the Congress of Utrecht and the next great peace congress, the European powers were at war with each other more than half the time, with huge coalitions behind them. The Congress of Vienna in 1815 brought to a close a struggle of much more than a century (though it is sometimes called in picturesque understatement "the Second Hundred Years' War") in which England finally won world predominance away from France. England's hegemony led to a new "balance of power," an agonizingly delicate equilibrium, whereby Europe was able, despite numerous threats of war, to preserve a comparative peace (often referred to as the *Pax Britannica*) for the century that preceded the first World War and the Congress of Versailles (1919).

Versailles was thus the fourth major peace congress in the three hundred years since the Thirty Years' War. The four congresses came at approximately hundred-year intervals. In between there were conferences of minor importance.

One conclusion that is inescapable from a study of these peace conferences is that they did not make peace. The signatures were still wet on the agreements that they reached when the powers that signed them were again at work to change them—by pacific means if possible, by violence if necessary. The peace table has thus often proved to be a way of ending wars without ever being quite successful in starting peace.

The reasons for this are at least twofold. Much depends upon whether the war that has just stopped has ended in stalemate or in the decisive defeat of one side. If the military result is stalemate, a compromise becomes necessary between two forces ready to resort again to war rather than concede too much; and a compromise, like an epigram, is a half-truth that irritates those who believe in the other half. Sooner or later the irritation leads again to violent efforts to

eradicate its source, and war results. If, on the other hand, one side has won a resounding victory over the other, the demands of the victor become the basis of a dictated peace. The defeated power, by domestic manipulation and international juggling, devotes itself to preparation for the day when it may again take the field; war comes either from the efforts of its earlier conquerors to prevent its recovery or from its own efforts to avenge its earlier humiliation. A century of peace conferences that arranged compromise after compromise on the Near Eastern Question provides all too vivid illustrations of the kind of war that results from compromises. The history of Franco-Prussian relations since 1800 furnishes a sorry chain of wars of liberation and revenge that resulted from dictates. The lesson is clear enough: peace does not come from peace conferences.

And yet we have only the experience of failure in the past to guide us in making peace in the future. We must therefore examine that experience for the least bad models to follow as well as for the worst examples to avoid.

Of all the congresses of the last three centuries, the one that led to the longest period of peace was that of Vienna in 1814-15. It came at the close of an era strikingly similar to our own. One nation after a long career as an aggressor in international politics found herself under the domination of a dictator (Napoleon Bonaparte) who had succeeded in conquering a large part of Europe before he was decisively defeated by a combination of other powers. It became necessary at the peace table to decide what to do not merely with the conquered power, France, but also with many of the territories that the conqueror had been forced to relinquish. A principle that was adopted to guide the conference in its solution of these problems was the principle of "legitimacy." The diplomats at Vienna thereby bound themselves to the political philosophy that there was a sys-

tem of international law; that it consisted of the treaties, practices, and precedents which had confined international relations before the French Revolution and the Napoleonic usurpations; and that it was desirable to return to that system of international law as completely as other circumstances permitted.

It is also a striking coincidence that when, in the midst of the peace negotiations at Vienna, Napoleon returned and was again accepted by the French people, the allied powers declared him an outlaw. After defeating him decisively at Waterloo, they occupied France until, within three years, it became clear that France would not again in the near future disturb international peace.

As peace conferences go, Vienna was an outstanding success. There was no war involving major powers on both sides for forty years. When the Crimean War, the Franco-Prussian War, and the Russo-Japanese War came, they were *short*, in time, *localized* in area, and relatively *cheap* in blood and money. The century between the Congress of Vienna and the outbreak of the War of 1914, unlike the century of world wars that preceded it and the generation of world wars that has followed it, was a time when it was possible for intelligent men to hope that war might some day become obsolete. It was the longest period of comparative peace in the history of the modern world.

It would be illogical to claim that it was the decisions of the Congress of Vienna alone which made possible that century of peace. But the fact remains that the decisions of Vienna *permitted* the interplay of other forces to effect a peace of long duration. That cannot be said of the great peace congresses that preceded it or of the Congress of Versailles that followed.

Nevertheless the Congress of Vienna has always been regarded by liberals with a certain degree of horror. For the long period of peace that it made possible

was also a period of reaction. The principle of "legitimacy," for some of the powers that subscribed to it, applied not only to the international but also to the domestic arrangements of 1789. They felt called upon not only to prevent any change in the national boundaries fixed at Vienna but also to interfere in the internal affairs of any people who desired a new constitution or new rulers. Hence political change, whether peaceful or violent, national or international, often was opposed by those powers—by force if necessary. They became known—more or less inaccurately—as the Holy Alliance, and it was against them that President Monroe directed his famous "doctrine."

We must avoid the errors of the Congress of Vienna while aiming at its successes. We must *first* recognize that there is a system of law in Europe and the rest of the world. That law is the *status quo* of 1939. It does not include changes made by the violence of Germany, Italy, and Japan since 1931, and it may include changes made by pacific agreements after 1939. It does not include the unilateral rearrangements in Manchuria and China, Ethiopia and Albania, Austria and Czechoslovakia. It may include readjustments made in India and the Baltic states if they are made with the free consent of the interested parties, for the international order of 1939 envisaged such peaceful readjustments.

The *status quo* of 1939 makes a better basis of legitimacy than did that of Vienna. In the first place, before this war there were a League of Nations and a World Court, which, with all their shortcomings, were better than the almost complete absence of a world order in 1789. In the second place, the *status quo* of 1939 ought to be quite acceptable to a defeated Germany. For it means only a partial return to the system of Versailles. It means only a Versailles as modified during the twenty years between 1919 and 1939—no reparations, no de-

militarized Rhine, and no Saar occupied by the French. It will not mean a peace of vindictiveness and revenge but a peace based upon a concept of law.

The second point that emerges from an examination of the Congress of Vienna is that the accepted basis of legitimacy must not be regarded as fixed. Room for the peaceful adjustment of international conflicts must be allowed. There are many international problems that are incapable of solution at all without concessions by one or both sides. There are many others that can be solved only by the course of time. These problems are very seldom conflicts of wholly right against wholly wrong, but of partly right against partly right. An effort to settle such disputes at a peace conference will result only in compromise or humiliation and will lead only to the renewal of war.

Fortunately, as has already been pointed out, the *status quo* of 1939 permits change by pacific means. Through the League of Nations and the World Court disputes may be adjudicated. As a matter of fact, the fifteen years from 1919 to 1934 showed an extraordinary degree of progress toward international cooperation and collective security—with the cancellation of reparations, naval disarmament, Locarno, the World Court, the Kellogg Pact, and the admission of Germany and Russia into the League. A return to international cooperation on that scale would be a return not to an immutable *status quo* but to a system by which further advance in the direction of international justice would be possible.

The important point in my plea is not the partial return to the *status quo ante* but the process by which that status is to be changed. I plead, in other words, not for a peace conference that will inevitably lead to a new war between new "haves" and new "have-nots," but for one that will end the present war by returning to a scratch from which future negotiations may depart. The economic maladjustments, the ideological conflicts,

the national psychoses, the territorial rivalries, the numerous other knotty problems that are at the root of war cannot be solved by a single set of experts in one fell swoop at a peace table within a few months or even a few years. They can be solved, if at all, only problem by problem and only by long deliberation in a world which, starting from a system of law admittedly faulty, moves slowly in the direction of justice.

A third point that emerges from the experience of the Congress of Vienna is that outlawing the authors of war seems to have a wholesome effect as a deterrent upon potential military aggressors. That point ties in well with the *status quo* of 1939, for members of the United Nations have been bound since 1928 by the Kellogg Pact, which the Axis powers also signed. By that pact they agreed that war was outlawed and that to resort to violence in international disputes is a crime. The United Nations are now morally bound to arrest the Axis powers in the act of committing that crime. The occupation of France from 1815 to 1818 indicates that to police an offending nation until it shows willingness and ability to rejoin the family of nations as a peaceful member can be done with a minimum of vindictiveness and a maximum of good for international peace. Today such an occupation of Germany and her allies is particularly important. In the first place, it will put teeth in the Kellogg Pact, whose weakness in the past has been that the nations would not risk war to implement it. If now Germany is regarded as having outlawed herself by breaking the Kellogg Pact, if she is arrested in the act and punished by occupation, the Pact ceases to be merely a bombastic gesture and becomes a reality for which the United Nations have fought and may be expected to fight again.

Moreover, no future Hitler should be allowed to tell the Germans that they were not defeated on the field of battle but were "stabbed in the back." It must

be made clear to the German people by international occupation to be ended only by international agreement that they *were* defeated on the field of battle and may be so defeated again if they again violate the Pact. There are many Germans who will be ready to believe that. There must still be decent Germans who do not subscribe to the militaristic tradition of Frederick II, Bismarck, Kaiser Wilhelm, and Hitler. An occupation that makes obvious that militarism does not pay, that international police action is sure to follow aggression, an occupation which is not vindictive, which deprives Germany of no new territory and asks no indemnities, an occupation which is under international auspices and subject to termination by international action upon good behavior will not only fortify the anti-Nazi elements in Germany but may be the only way to keep the Germans from tearing each other to pieces after the war.

The moral to be learned from the history of peace congresses is thus clear. We must have a war *with* victory, and a peace *without* victory. That is the lesson of both the peace of Vienna, which endured, and the peace of Versailles, which did not endure.

It is also the lesson of our own Civil War. For "four score and seven years" it was not clear whether the sovereign states of the United States were free to break away from the system of law known as the Constitution of the United States. When finally some of them tried it, they found that the others considered such secession an act of outlawry against which they were morally bound to apply the sanction of war. Gettysburg was "a great battlefield of that war" testing not only whether "a new nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal" could long endure but also whether a federation of sovereign states could prohibit resort to arms on the part of any of its

members to adjust grievances. The victory of those who outlawed secession solved that question once and for all. No state has seceded from the United States since that victory, nor is any state ever likely to try to do so again. Misguided vengeance deprived the federation of its most moderate leader at the moment of success, and threw the making of peace into the hands of the vindictive. The unity that had been won by a war with victory was, as a consequence, counter-balanced for generations by the regionalism that Reconstruction, a peace with victory, made inevitable. Bismarck was wiser. When, in uniting the German Empire, he felt called upon to conquer the states of Southern Germany, he won over them a devastatingly conspicuous victory but made a peace, celebrated for its mildness, that a few years later brought them of their own accord into the German orbit. If we are to achieve peace through war in our time, it can be only by making war, war, and peace, peace—by a visible military victory followed by a tentative restoration of the previously existing order.

Versailles teaches a final lesson: the next peace congress should take place in the United States. That Germans by this time have greater confidence in Americans than Englishmen, Russians, or Frenchmen is doubtful. We too are probably now counted among their traditional enemies and our disinterestedness is probably no longer taken for granted. Yet even if the sound of an American name be just as hateful to German ears as a Russian or English one, even if Washington, or Chicago, or San Francisco would seem just as humiliating to a delegation from Berlin as Moscow or London or Versailles, nothing is to be lost in that regard by giving the treaty an American name. On the other hand, much is to be gained in American public opinion. A congress called the Congress of Washington will forever by its very name remind Americans of America's

moral responsibility for the peace. No group of wilful senators will be able to maintain that it is a rotten fruit of an unclean European soil of which Americans had best wash their hands and remain forever free—only to be dirtied by it again in the near future. If we are

again to repudiate responsibility for the outcome of a victory made possible largely by the sacrifice of American lives and fortunes, let it at least not be because it will be easy for some of us to pretend that it is none of America's business. That way lies not peace but a sword.



Moses and the Burning Bush

A. RAYMOND KATZ

Sholem Asch; A Titan Among Us

By LOUIS ZARA

"Meine Qual und meine Klagen—"

"All my anguish, all my rages
I have poured and not concealed here;
And, if you should turn these pages,
You will find my heart revealed here."

THUS RUNS a little verse by Heinrich Heine, but it might as easily have been written by Sholem Asch, the novelist, pointing to *The Nazarene*, his distinguished treatment of the story of Jesus the Jew.

Genius runs its own course, and an established community often finds that its artists are little inclined to keep in step with conventional thought. Now and then a great figure will plough a furrow in which the rest of his brethren may tread in comfort. Such has happened with Albert Einstein; perhaps, one suspects, because the nature of his contribution is so difficult to grasp that his co-religionists have had no cause to impugn his motives. Sigmund Freud, on the other hand, pioneered in quite another field and was not so free from criticism of his fellow-Jews. When, toward the end of his days, he published a speculative study entitled *Moses and Monotheism*, the professional leaders of his race pounced upon him and generally, in their sermons at least, reduced him to rubble. Sholem Asch, the leading figure of Yiddish literature and internationally renowned for such novels as *The Mother*, *Salvation*, *Three Cities* and others, was beloved by the masses of his people until he wrote a masterpiece on the most controversial subject in Western history. Overnight he became the target for a barrage of criticism the like of which has rarely been hurled at a modern piece of prose.

Had *The Nazarene* fallen dead from the presses it is doubtful whether any of Mr. Asch's more acrimonious contemporaries would have thrown their darts at him. Since, however, it was an immediate success they at once began to pillory him. If, by this criticism, they desired to discourage the public from reading *The Nazarene* they made a grievous error in lashing out at him so venomously. For by going beyond the limits of literary criticism they evoked so much curiosity in the mind of the public that men and women who normally do not read a book a year went out to see for themselves what had raised such a stir and thus made *The Nazarene* an international best-seller.

It saddens one that there should be any barrier between this great writer who so dearly loves the Jewish people, and the people themselves. That Asch, who is deeply concerned over the fate of the Jews, should have to bear the rebukes of minor critics for his literary treatment of the Jew of Nazareth, is one of the cruel ironies of the contemporary picture. Even more ironic is the fact that the leaders of the opposition to him are men who have always been atheistic in spirit and have been concerned not at all with problems of religious interpretation. Joined to these critics are a number of leading men whose custom it is to create a storm whenever a work of importance by a Jewish author makes its appearance.

What did Asch do in *The Nazarene* that should still grieve his people? Did he harm his Jews when he maintained that, contrary to the Gospels, the arrest and execution of Jesus was due to Roman pressure upon the priest and the

Sadducees? Did he hurt Judaism when he declared that not "Eli, Eli—" but the "Shema Yisroel" were probably Jesus' last words? Where did he sin? Where did he err?

It is understandable that our rabbis should look askance upon any new treatment of the Christ story. But it is regrettable that any Jewish leaders should become dogmatic on an artist's right to create from his brain and from his knowledge of history. What of the richness of the vast historical background of *The Nazarene*; what of the amazing color of the narrative; what of the remarkable delineation of the characters! Some of the critics indicated that they were ready to grant the artistry—so kind of them!—but quarreled with the history involved and with the interpretation thereof.

No one challenges the right of free criticism here; the question is, may a Jewish artist ever dare to touch such material, or is it "verboten" to him because he was born a Jew? The story of the Nazarene, whether truth or myth, is one of the most fascinating of tales, and Jewish artists will always be attracted to it. Far better to let them create at will than to make the Jesus story "forbidden fruit."

But for what has Asch stood? Has he tried to proselyte? Has he sought to win the Jews to another faith? Not at all. This must be made clear. "It is not my purpose," Sholem Asch said in *What I Believe*, "to polemicize with anyone or to offer my apologies for my own faith."

Faith? Yes, faith indeed. For here is a man of faith, a man of deep religious convictions, a Jew of whom his race and his co-religionists might well afford to be proud. What has he tried to do? Merely to dwell upon the principle of *equality* of faith. He has asked us, who have so long pleaded for tolerance, to be equally tolerant to others.

"There is no necessity either," he has said, "for one side to diminish the role of the other—there is glory for all—in

the development of the moral values of mankind, or to maneuver for strategic advantage in the history of religion. Let them both stand firm upon their own ground. Let their inspiration be rather faith itself than theologic form, and a God-fearing forthrightness which cannot be intimidated by shallow zeal of the self-opinionated."

The writer does not necessarily follow Sholem Asch in his faith; indeed, he envies him his profound convictions. But he feels it necessary to point out what Voltaire said so well: "I may not agree with a word you say, but I shall defend to the death your right to say it." Beginners may be chastised; masters must be listened to and understood. Above all, Sholem Asch, playwright, novelist, feuilletonist, national leader, has earned a measure of respect for his views.

* * *

Chicago was recently honored by a visit from the great novelist. His presence, his manners, his words helped to support this writer's belief that in Sholem Asch Jewry possesses a remarkable spirit. Physically, Sholem Asch is tall and his bearing is dignified. Just past his sixty-third birthday, age sits well upon his shoulders. His hair and mustache are iron-gray. His nature is warm and earnest: he has a passionate love for simple people. But his mien is a melancholy one, resulting from that deep sense of *Weltschmerz* which has been the burden and torment of all Jewish prophets and poets. A profound student of character, with a scholar's knowledge of mankind's sad history he looks out at the world with the eyes of a trained observer. One gazes at him and realizes that this is a painfully honest man, one who speaks freely because his heart will not let him do otherwise.

We went down to Maxwell Street, an old quarter of the city, where Jewish life once bustled. Now few Jewish merchants are left there, but some of the spirit of

an Old World section still remains. It was a wet chilly day, but he insisted on walking to "taste" the atmosphere of these crowded streets. We strolled among the covered stalls. His keen eyes moved appreciatively from the boxes of fish to the bins of fruit and to heaps of fresh baked bread. He glanced at the chestnut-seller, at the horseradish grinder, at the second-hand clothes dealer. He stopped to purchase apples, of which he is very fond. He searched for Mackintosh apples: "These are the best," he said.

We went in quest of Jewish reliquaries, but he was disappointed at the few on display in the institution we visited. When his eyes lit upon a facsimile copy of the Darmstaedter Haggadah he asked to have it taken from its case. He examined it closely, pointing to the medieval characteristics of the illumination. An urchin with a begrimed face and a bloodshot eye came by and sat down across from him. Mr. Asch looked up. "Hello," he said. The boy grinned warmly. Instantly, the rapport had been established. A dignified man but a man with a heart large enough to take in multitudes.

It was interesting to listen to his opinions on contemporary literature. His admiration for some of Hemingway's work was expressed freely. Of Thomas Mann he spoke humbly: "Of living writers," he declared, "he is the greatest."

Tolstoi had been Sholem Asch's master in his youth; not his teacher but the greatest influence upon him, as is evident from such a work as *Three Cities*. But he had that day picked up a copy of Dostoevski's *The Idiot* and begun to re-read it. As he told of this experience he bowed his iron-gray head and covered his eyes with his hand. "Dostoevski's characters," he said fervently—"we have done nothing like that in our time!"

When he was a young man he had learned technique from reading Tolstoi. Once he had translated one of Tolstoi's novelettes into Yiddish as a writing ex-

ercise in order to acquaint himself with the master's way of developing a story and of unfolding character; no writer does this except for sheer love of his craft. Translating other works from foreign languages helped him with his study of the novel and also increased his knowledge of the language.

As for writing for money, Sholem Asch smiled and reminisced of Peretz, the Yiddish short story writer, who had said, "If a writer must get money to live on he had better steal silver spoons than sell his talent cheaply." Such a writer does not turn lightly to a grave subject nor does he desire to harm innocent people with his writings.

Revealing was Sholem Asch's deep interest in American history. Poland was his native country and his home for years. But that was long ago and now he is truly American in spirit with an insatiable desire for more and more information about the land of his adoption. He wrote of the American scene before through the eyes of immigrant characters; one can almost predict that he may some day turn his pen to the American historical scene.

Meanwhile he is at work on a novel tentatively entitled "The Apostle" that promises to surpass even *The Nazarene* in importance. It will deal with the early years of Christianity when the only Christians were Jews and a man named Paul travelled the Mediterranean lands. Sholem Asch himself might be tempted to quote Gamaliel who said: "If the work is the work of man, it will fall; but if it is the work of God ye cannot destroy it, lest ye find yourselves at war with God." The work may still take years but Sholem Asch's heart is in it, and he will not rest until it is done. Those who parted company with him on *The Nazarene* will sharpen their pens in anticipation. But the majority of us who understand that Sholem Asch is a literary titan know that his work will go far to help create goodwill for his people.

The Strategy of Minority Safety

By T. V. SMITH

IT IS BUT MORAL ROMANTICISM that deprecates the ideal of tolerance because it is negative. Negative the ideal is, in a way and to an extent. But negative in the same way, if not to the same extent, are most great social ideals. Civilized society depends upon such negatives as free the collective path for individual initiative. Deeper than all other social wisdom is the truth that the greatest single good that man can do men is to let them alone to make what they can of themselves. That itself is not a whole truth, but it is the biggest half truth which ambitious men, yea which good men, constantly forget. Reform movements should be judged by how much they hinder the hindrances of men.

The pushing of oneself upon others, even though done in the name of conscience, is the cardinal immorality. Tolerance is not enough to men who crave nuzzling; but it is the most men will ever get in general who want freedom. Men do not have to kiss in order to cooperate; and cooperation, not nuzzling, is the goal of civilized life. Tolerance, negative though it be, is therefore the amplest social attitude which men get, or wise men wish, upon a scale adequately extensive for modern life. Great, however, as tolerance is, it exists not for its own sake but for the sake of safety—safety for men as they go about making the most they can of themselves.

I. Superior Safety for Majorities

The safety craved by minorities, however, and sought for them by all liberal men and governments, must be itself a limited safety. Not only is it limited, but

limited by the superior right of the majority. Majorities are much younger than minorities. They are more difficult to create, to preserve, and are more politically precious. Minorities are the chief obstacles to be overcome in creating majorities; but once the latter are created, they can probably be preserved indefinitely only by a prescient safeguarding of their constituent minorities. This is the chief political case for minority rights.

John Stuart Mill's warning and the march of events have together highly sensitized us to the dangers deriving from majorities. Majorities, however, are not the only, or even the greatest, enemy of minorities. Other minorities are the oldest and the worst offenders against minorities. Oldest they are without dispute. It was one Grecian minority against another that laid down at the prime the ever-recurring law in social relations: "of the gods we believe by tradition and of men we know for a fact that by an irresistible law of their nature the strong rule where they can. Right as the world goes is in question only between equals in power, while the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must." Not only the oldest but the worst, because for a minority to render life unsafe for another minority lacks even the redeeming significance which can be credited to suppression by a majority, i.e., the compensation of the presence of the most precious political value achievable among men—conscious like-mindedness on an enlarged scale.

Indeed, it is the precariousness of such majorities as we have achieved under democracy that best explains the nervous-

ness by which contemporary majorities turn so easily to the suppression of their minorities. So late and so hazardingly have our democratic majorities taken form that they are, one and all, tainted with minority psychology—being quick in particular to suspect encroachment and ready to strike upon suspicion. As minorities raise maximum expectations in order to try to safeguard minimum demands, so the contemporary majority, come to birth through a precarious power struggle, operates largely upon fear and strikes repressively out of sheer nervousness.

So much is this so that we must, I believe, come to see the problem of safeguarding minorities as in no small measure the problem of creating a more stable democratic majority. This is the major thesis, it will be recalled, of that prescient little book of John Dewey, "The Public and its Problems." The chief problem of the public is that there is as yet no real public. There are publics, competing groups of equally vested interests; but as yet no single, large continuing community, enlightened as to its own interests and united to further them by effective means. Not until we have such a public, such a majority, will minorities achieve their minimum safety. Not until then will they be safe from one another or safe from the moral monstrosities that sometimes operate under the banner of the greatest good of the greatest number. Nationalism is the ideology of the strongest effort to create majorities in the world today. The furtherance of this or of some more moral equivalent of this drive seems indicated if we are realistically to campaign for enhanced safety for modern minorities. Those who operate outside nationalistic sentiment will, at least for a long time, have a hard row to hoe. While then our major problem is one of creation, it is not the creation of something out of nothing. That program would be discouraging indeed. Discouraging enough is the task actually laid upon us in America—the task, as the

late Justice Holmes remarked to be the road to progress, the duty "to become more civilized."

We must convert the machinery of suffrage from an instrument whereby the few rule the many to the profit of the few, into a means of furthering and fulfilling a large-scale consent. We must build a majority that sees its vocation in the emancipation of the energies of all individuals as they gather together in voluntary groupings, holding no group with purpose organic to its own to be other than full participant in its machinery and full sharer of its benefits. To state the job as one of creating what does not yet exist save in germ and to summarize the conditions of success in such form as to throw into relief the injustice and violence not infrequently prevalent, is not to render our task more hopeless, though it may render us less hopeful. To see things as they are is the first step, though only the first, toward making them better. We aim at safety for minorities, through tolerance of their idiosyncracies. Let us turn to the prospects and to the most likely strategy of these prospects.

II. *Three Orders of Minority Safety*

There seem to be three orders of safety as touching minorities. There is, first, safety of ideas; second, safety of property; and, finally, safety of person. When the situation grows so desperate, as with the Jews in Germany and sometimes with Negroes in America, where not even the persons of minority groups are safe from maltreatment, we must start at the very bottom in our talk of safeguarding. The fact that a minority is thought weak and despicable enough to suffer its persons to be maltreated, indicates normally that the chance of preserving something through counter-violence is not worth taking. The first thought of men, of course, when their lives are at stake is to kill rather than to be killed or mutilated.

This is a motive recognized at law and universally respected, save in Nazi Germany. But this is a resort which is itself romantic save in very exceptional cases. The Jews would only be wiped out physically if they tried violence in Germany, and the Negro is equally helpless at a time of crisis in an American community. Nor in general is law to be thought of as an effective method of safeguarding a minority when matters come to this extreme pass.

It would be romantic for anybody to propose legislation for the relief of Jews in Germany. Not quite so romantic in America, however, to think of legislation against Negro lynching. When state legislatures, as has that of Illinois and several other states, can memorialize the national Congress in favor of a federal anti-lynching bill, with teeth in it, there is still hope for safety through law. When legislation can help, it means ordinarily that the persons of the minority are not in general jeopardy. This is of course true of the Negro in America: his person is not in danger as long as, we diabolically say, "he keeps his place." Moreover, his "place" is subject to general, even if inconstant, improvement. But when the impasse is really reached in which the persons of minorities are unsafe, there is then no remedial recourse save through something like religion. By this I mean to say that when there is nothing left in men which is respected, the job becomes the basic one of so remaking souls as once more to generate respect for personality as such.

There are times in this arduous business—a business in which men of good will must ever engage—when aid must be sought from whatever source. The transcendental equality of souls may comfort when all else fails. A justice postponed to an afterlife is at least better than no justice at all. The vaguest sanctions may be invoked when nothing better is at hand. One may even reflect, in times

when precious personalities go into the crucible like lard to be rendered, that in the rhythms of history the under-dog today may be the upper-dog tomorrow. Nothing is permanent in life, not even the incidence of injustice. But such reflections, whether religious or secular, are reliances upon the unearned increment of social juxtapositions. They are made logical, in a surd-like sense, by the fact that such minority oppression as arises from race particularly, is itself an unearned increment of humanity's humors assessed by history in its inexorable grind. Here is the major ailment upon which feeds the tragic sense of life in men who are born to carry the weight of woe in their hearts. Such however at times do become the orders and the compensations for hope—unless we are to make the worst rather than the best of the worse.

The second order of safety concerns property. There is less strain perhaps on the majority in allowing the property rights of minorities than there is in leaving their persons unmolested. True, property is likely to be destroyed when persons are jeopardized; but the legal rights of property are much less likely to be invaded with impunity than are the rights of persons. True also that the close relation between the two is shown by the fact that the assuring of property rights is a long and substantial step toward the safeguarding of persons. Even when not all persons are safe, the persons of propertied men are likely to be safer than most. The Rothschilds are seldom the first to go under. In spite of the inter-incidence, however, it remains a distinction based upon a difference to say that safety of property is a different and a somewhat easier achievement than that of safeguarding persons.

It is easier in that recourse may here be had to more substantial means than religious ones. Legal means are here available for defense. Civil suits are much more dependable for minorities than are

criminal suits. A jury will more dependably give legal protection to the property of a Negro than to the person of a Negro; and I suspect this to be true of minorities in general. It is perhaps not that we unconsciously raise property rights above personal rights, but here individuals are involved who are not accredited persons, whereas property carries its own credentials with it. Moreover, and not to be despised, is this fact: to render property unsafe for a minority is more likely to jeopardize it for the majority than disrespect for minority persons will react upon majority persons. Be this speculation as it may, we know that not even the property of minorities is always safe. Sometimes it needs safeguarding, and when safeguarded and furthered, enhances the sense of personality of minorities as it does of majorities. Ownership of property improves the chance at justice along the whole front.

It is doubtful, however, whether one can fully generalize this matter, as unpropertied minorities are wont to do, to the point of saying that the increase of property necessarily increases respect for and therefore protection of the persons representing minorities. Of the Negroes in America I feel this to be true, and therefore hold to be wise their accumulation of just as much property as possible. But of the Jews in Germany, or elsewhere, who can with certainty prove this true? Their persons have not infrequently been violated *because* of their property. Not merely, either, in order to confiscate the property, but also out of the feeling that personally they could be tolerated while weak but must be repressed as they make showing of strength—such showing as property always implies.

Just as property even though belonging to persons is itself impersonal, so ideas, though arising from persons, swing freer of persons than does even property.

With the heightened impersonality of ideas we reach the thing of highest safety possessed by distraught minorities. Of course since ideas have themselves a natural history, the chance of minorities producing significant ideas is lessened, perhaps, when they are not allowed freely to acquire and enjoy property and when they are not even guaranteed freedom from violation of their persons. Lessened though the chance be, nevertheless the production of significant ideas by minorities in the modern world has been high, and it has not been restricted to those minorities who have achieved adequate security in their several rights. Some types of ideas indeed come best out of persecution. Religious ideas flourish and even spread because of suppressive tactics, it appears. Without going into this matter, however, let us simply say that if minorities do produce ideas, these mind-children enjoy a larger and securer margin of safety than does either the property or the persons of those who produce the ideas. The safeguarding of ideas is not to be overlooked, but since it furnishes a stabler basis than any other, we shall emphasize the fecundity of ideas for enhancing the other orders of safety, rather than pre-occupy ourselves with the career of minority ideation as such.

Given contributions by minority figures to science, philosophy, or art, these contributions find their way into circulation (not always uninvitably); they become the stuff of which personal prestige is made, and the harder stuff of which more slowly the minority's rising curve of respect is generated. Nothing succeeds like success; and success, once denied a group, must be re-built of what success the group is already allowed to have. Ideas cannot be completely interdicted, and once loosed they cannot be sterilized for race or tagged with color. Among us, thank heaven, the free course of ideas is still generally allowed; and, being al-

lowed, ideas mark a place of beginning and register a hope for the progress of justice.

Frankly, the chief reliance we now have for making life more safe for minorities is found just here. Art, science, philosophy are largely international, and in their train they carry the seeds of inter-racialism. One great artist invests a whole race with virtue and wonder. It is not that Robeson sings of his people; it is rather that he sings well. It is not that Dunbar wrote so beautifully and so truly that

No other race or white or black,
When bound as thou wert to the rack
So seldom stooped to grieving;
No other race, when free again,
Forgot the past and proved them men,
So noble in forgiving.

It is rather that Dunbar's poetry begets respect for whatever and whomever he celebrates. One great scientist invests a whole race with respect; he carries his group forth to a sort of unearned increment. A great philosopher or scientist or artist is worth a number of millionaires in the struggle of a group for safety. Each such carries with him a key to enhanced understanding and respect for a whole race.

Ideas are filterable viruses; and they filter through the cake of custom, through the crust of racial conceit, through the all but impregnable walls of color; and if they be of a certain sort, they filter to raise a show of benevolence and to initiate a day of more just justice, a reign of more legal law.

III. *The Strategy of Ideas*

If, then, ideas be our plea, let us give one sustained glance at their variety and differential fecundity. There are, in the historic grand manner, ideas of Truth, ideas of Goodness, and ideas of Beauty. Not only are ideas of truth compatible with intolerance, they actually at times become the instruments of suppression. Let a Negro or a Jew try setting over

against the majority truth in Germany of Nordic superiority some new-fangled minority truth, torn out of, say, the Declaration of Independence, that one group is as entitled as another, and see how arduous becomes the osmosis of true ideas.

Ideas that claim to be true are of all ideas the least available for the remedial work of justice for minorities. Truth is too harsh a thing, from too tragic a realm of ideal being, to be of more than minimum worth to us in the enterprise of safety. The hopeful thing is that when the war of words known in modern philosophy as theories of truth is over, the truce invariably calls for arbitrators taken from the rolls of the magnanimous. I mean to say that since every theory of truth reduces in a pinch to some sort of intuition, or claim of self-evidence, the only guarantee against continuing social debacles in the name of truth is to allow only the good man to act upon the claim to self-evidence. He is the only man who will not claim finality in the very face of disagreement—the fanatic after all is but the man who does what God would do, if God had all the facts! A man generous enough to acknowledge that the claim of truth cannot be closed as long as parties to the argument still hold out—he only is an ideational good man; and he only can save ideas of Truth from perpetrating the same tyrannies that have been perpetrated upon minorities from the basest of motives. To be suppressed in the name of truth is no more palatable, indeed it is less so, than other types of suppression. Ideas of goodness must then supplement, if not supplant, ideas of truth as instruments of the advance in minority safety.

Just as ideas of truth, however, may easily lead to tyranny, so ideas of goodness are not themselves impervious to maliciousness. Morality must itself take constant account of the metaphysics of malevolence no less than of the metaphysics of benevolence. There is another

realm of ideal being than truth or goodness from which we must draw our final force of ideas for the curing of suppression: ideas of Beauty. Harrison found it easier to become "De Lawd" of art (*Green Pastures*) than he would have of science or philosophy. So with Robeson. So with Dunbar. Beauty, as Plato discerned, "is certainly a soft, smooth, slippery thing, and therefore of a nature which easily slips in and permeates our souls." Where rights must be won by insinuation, as in the case of militarily impotent minorities, this sinuous nature of beauty is a source of beguiling strength, of cardinal strategy.

The differential availability of ideas in art for purposes of accelerating the hesitant march of justice, raises further hope for the Negro as America's worst discriminated against minority. He has been so avid in seizing this differential opening along a wide front as already to find himself with a great momentum in this sector of the struggle for justice. Claims of goodness can be rounded of their sharpest corners by juxtaposition with notions of beauty; and both together will be required to rob of their virulence such gospel truths as, in America, that the Negro is inferior; and, as, in Germany, through the orifice of one of its widest

mouths, the gospel truth of Goebbels: "Christ cannot possibly have been a Jew. I don't have to prove that scientifically. It is a fact."

IV

In concluding let me emphasize the thought that we shall do well to set against the majority's abiding conviction that it is "the voice of God" the widely held faith of Ibsen that "the minority is always right"—set these against each other until each cancels the excessive claim of the other out, leaving clear at last the dependence of each upon the other. As isolated judges we shall say to both, in the judicial quip of the great dead Holmes: 'We allow to each of you the defects of your qualities, do you but have the qualities of your defects.' Let the minority see in a tolerant majority a spiritual achievement of the first order, which if it cannot annex, it must not wish to impair. Let the majority honor itself in learning to see in minorities sources of cultural enrichment upon which its own larger life depends and in learning to prize such variegated avenues of escape from boredom with its own sameness. What an opportunity America has to turn a persisting shame, and an ever-impending holocaust, into the seamless texture of a magnificent national life!



The Goat

TODROS GELLER

What Are We Really Fighting For?

By JAMES M. YARD

AMERICA is more than a government in Washington; it is more than a huge continent stretching three thousand miles from sea to sea; it is more than the greatest industrial organization under the sun. America exists in the hearts of one hundred and thirty million people of all colors and creeds. America is a dream. America is Washington and Jefferson, and Franklin and Lincoln and Wilson. It is Valley Forge, and Harper's Ferry, and Appomattox, and Chateau Thierry.

If that is America, as I think it is, then we did not get into this war merely because the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor. That was merely an episode. We really got into the war when Congress refused to follow Woodrow Wilson and his vision of a better world. Many then knew that the world is a globe. But the majority said: "Let Europe stew in its own juice." At that moment, another war became inevitable. Now we are in that war.

What are we really fighting for?

There is an ancient document which says: "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created free and equal." The word equality is a terrific word. We use it often but we are not too careful about its exact meaning. Herbert Agar says we do not define it because it brings us up against such awkward problems. "But unless we are willing to face awkward problems at this time in human history and solve them, our only alternative is to lie down in the ditch and let the panzer divisions have their way with us."

We are fighting not merely to destroy

Hitler's theory of race as it concerns the Jews, but to destroy our own theory of white superiority as it concerns Chinese, Negroes, and all the other colored peoples on this earth. Ours is a total world and it is not a white man's world. Certainly not when you are counting population. If this war is to make any sense, we are fighting for the brotherhood of man everywhere in the world. I do not exclude the United States. And I do not mean some fine spun theoretical brotherhood. I mean practicing brotherhood as it touches jobs and housing, restaurants and educational opportunities. If we are not going to win that kind of war here, why do we get so furious about Hitler's war on peoples? It is later than you think. It is time to find out what this war is really about.

We are fighting not for territory, or mines, or markets. We are fighting for moral values. If we are not, this war can make no sense for us Americans. We are willing to sacrifice everything for the four freedoms everywhere in the world. We now see that we must wake up and practice the American dream on Main Street and Park Avenue, and on all the Main Streets and Park Avenues of the world. We see that, if the American dream survives, the color lines and class lines must be wiped out forever—here and everywhere. That frightens some people, but not those who love America and are aware of America's role in history.

Miss Ruth Taylor said it powerfully in a recent essay:

"The world today has an opportunity seldom equalled in its history. There

never was a time when discrimination, prejudice and hatred was more widespread. BUT—there never was a time when this hydra-headed monster was more clearly recognized for exactly what it is—a destructive force that feeds upon the weak, not as an animal, for self-preservation, but for the sheer lust of killing.

"Forced into the open by the war-drums, it can be fought in the open and crushed into nothingness, if we face the dragon and fight it down instead of hedging on the issues.

"Up to now we have all too often compromised with evil. We have taken sides and condoned those cruelties which did not affect our own particular interest. We need now to condemn cruelty as such—whoever perpetuates it, or wherever it is in existence—whether it be in the concentration camps of Hitler, or in the chain gangs of Georgia.

"We must come out definitely against discrimination, but we must be consistent. Too many people seek not fair play for all but rule for themselves. We have seen that situation in India. With the enemy at their gates, the Indian politicians still sought advantages for

their particular group, not equality for all.

"Look back a few years at the Axis record. First the Japanese complained that there was discrimination against them in Manchuria, so they seized it—and discriminated against every one else. Then the Italians claimed they were being oppressed in Ethiopia, so they started a fight—to enslave the Ethiopians. Finally Hitler claimed the Versailles treaty was unfair to Germany, so he started wars and imposed terms that made the Versailles treaty look like a Sunday School tract.

"Whoever condones cruelty, discrimination, slander, hatred toward *any* group, whether it be of race, nationality, color, or religion; whoever seeks preferment for his own group at the expense of the others, or without regard for the rights of others, is sowing the seeds of totalitarianism. The fight at last is out in the open. As Jonathan Daniels of the Office of Civilian Defense stated recently: 'Intolerance is treason today.' Now it is out in the open—clearly labeled. Now is the time to wipe it out forever."

The time is over-ripe for Democracy to take the offensive.

The Jewish Element In Democracy

By MEYER WAXMAN

HABENT SUA FATA LIBELLI. "Books," said the Romans, "have their fates." Some, though impressed with the stamp of originality, are forgotten immediately upon their appearance, while others, of a less weighty character, attract popular attention and live for a long time. The same is true of words and concepts. They also have their peculiar fates and destinies. It happens often that a word embodying a certain concept which, at one time or another, exercised great influence, but later became commonplace, is, through the vicissitudes of life, brought once more to the attention of men, and becomes even the slogan of nations. Such is the present fate of democracy as word and as concept.

The concept, which has a long history beginning with the development of political life in the Greek city-states and which, during the course of human progress was many a time the cause of struggle and revolutions, lost for a period of seventy years, from the middle of the last century to the World War I, much of its importance. Due to the fact that the idea which it connotes, at least in its most accepted meaning, namely government by the people or their representatives, was to a great extent realized in the life of the West-European peoples, democracy lost its glamor and remained of interest only to historians and political leaders. The man in the street was hardly concerned with it and took it more or less for granted. The case is totally different now. It is once more an object of a terrific struggle, and, as a result, it has assumed a new role and power: as a word, the most popular in the vocabulary of a

large part of humanity; as a concept, the standard by which the social life of many nations is measured.

The democracy now so esteemed is, however, more than the democracy of yesterday which was limited primarily to the participation of the people and the masses in the government of the state. We understand democracy now to mean freedom and equality for all men, in their various activities, social no less than political, and even to a large degree economic. It is this enlargement of meaning which gives the current concept of democracy new vigor and force. It has become a mighty ideal which will inspire humanity, long after the war is won by the Allies.

To this growth and enlargement of the democratic ideal, Jewish thought has made its not unimportant contribution, as a brief historic retrospect will reveal.

That equality is an important element in democracy was recognized by Aristotle, who says that the first type of a democracy (i.e. a democratic government) is that "which is said to be based strictly on equality" (Politics B. IV, 4). But unfortunately, Aristotle's, as well as the general Greek conception of equality was much limited and circumscribed and by no means posited a fundamental equality of all men. The democratic government in Greek city-states, wherever such form of government prevailed, was not really democratic in our sense of the word, but oligarchic. The *demos*, i.e. the people, to whom the right to participate in the rule of the city was delegated, did not constitute all the inhabitants of the city, nor even the majority, but included only those

of Hellenic stock; neither aliens nor serfs and slaves had any right to vote. In most cases the *demos* consisted only of a small minority of the inhabitants of a city, these ruling the rest with an iron hand. Equality of all men was entirely incomprehensible to the Greeks, who spoke of all other nations as barbarians, and who looked upon slavery as an institution ordained by the inexorable laws of nature, a view from which the greatest among them could not emancipate themselves. Aristotle speaks of certain men who are "slaves by nature" and of others who are "masters by nature." He is even very reluctant to grant to mechanics and laborers equality and the right to participate in the government, and says (Pol. B. III, 5) that "the best form of a state will not admit them to citizenship," but where they are admitted, it is to be accepted as a necessary evil. It is no wonder, then, that even a limited form of democracy was looked upon with disfavor by the best representatives of Greek thought. Plato in his ideal Republic argues for a class government, and Aristotle, who possessed, on the whole, a wider and more practical outlook upon life concedes with great reluctance that the *many* may rule better than the few, for the reason that the power of judgment may be increased by the combination of the small powers of each into one. Yet, he hesitates to grant the *many* the power to hold office, for only the ability to judge may be increased by the uniting of the many into one ruling body; the intellectual powers of the individual officers, if they hail from the lower classes, will remain as low as before. He concedes this participation only in order to obviate a greater danger, namely that, if the *many* are excluded from office, they will become enemies of the state. (Pol. B. III, 11). At times, he even speaks of democracy as government by the needy and the poor and considers such rule a perversion of constitutional government.

The cause for this distrust of the *demos*, the masses, by the best minds of Greece, was their view that human excellence, consists primarily in reason and intellect. They considered virtue, the main prerequisite for ruling, not a trait of human character of which every man is capable, but the product of reason. As such it is found only in intellectuals, who need leisure in order to attain a high degree of ratiocination. Hence, mechanics and laborers who serve others cannot possess a high degree of reason nor virtue, and accordingly, says Aristotle, "no man can practice virtue who is living the life of a mechanic or laborer." The Greek conception of democracy was in effect empty of real content, incapable of developing into the democratic ideal of the nineteenth century, much less that of today. Another element was needed as a leaven and principle of development—that supplied by Judaism.

Judaism, considering man not from a philosophical but from a religious point of view, conceives him, in its story of creation, as a divinely created being and assumes humanity to have come forth from a single ancestor endowed with as many excellencies as a perfect creator could bestow. It thus postulated the original equality of all men, no matter how much they may later have deteriorated from the pattern. Theologically speaking, we may say that the conception of the fatherhood of God which is implied in the Biblical theory of creation establishes the brotherhood of men. It does not, however, mean that Judaism did not recognize differences in men, nor that it did not bow to the necessities of time and environment and sanction such a degrading institution as slavery. But its view on such matters differs essentially not in degree but in kind, from the one prevailing in the entire ancient world. It never said with Aristotle or with any other philosopher that some men differ essentially. On the contrary, it posited

that fundamentally and basically all men are equal and cast in the divine image impressed upon the first ancestor, while their differences are man-made. They arise either through the neglect of men to use their innate powers and live a life of dignity and worth, or at times, through the force of oppression exerted by other men physically stronger. This conception of the basic equality of men colored the view of Judaism upon life and history and was embodied in its institutions and laws. It was due to this concept that, in spite of the fact that the Jews considered themselves a chosen people and the possessors of a unique revelation, there could arise among them a prophet like Amos who thundered forth, "Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopians unto me, O children of Israel? saith the Lord. Have I not brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt and the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir?" (Amos IX, 7, 8). In other words, after all is said and done, and artificial differences are dissolved, all nations stand equal before God. It was this view which made it possible for a prophet like Isaiah to hold his grand vision of the end of days when complete brotherhood of man and permanent peace among nations will prevail (Isaiah II, 1-4), thus placing a great ideal before humanity which serves as an incentive for striving and for progress however far we are still from its attainment. Similar thoughts were expressed by other prophets and the concept of human equality permeates prophetic literature.

The institution of the Sabbath and the Jewish laws of slavery illustrate the potency of the view of the basic equality of men. The law in the Decalogue which, in commanding rest on the Sabbath, places the slave on the same plane as the free man, enunciates the basic equality of men. It says that as far as work is concerned, there are differences; the slave works harder, but as regards the inalienable right of man to rest on a

stated day all are equal.* Again, the same principle is emphasized in the laws of protecting the rights of the slave to life and limb. A master killing his slave is punished by death (Exodus, XXI, 20) and if he mutilates him he is to grant him freedom (*ibid.* 26, 27). These rights are inalienable to man, and hence the implied equality. Such laws were unknown in the entire ancient world, where the slave was considered a mere chattel. Nay, even the liberty of the slave is protected to a degree by a law which prohibits the surrender of a fugitive slave to his master (Deut. XXIII, 16); whereas the law of Hammurabi prescribes death for sheltering a fugitive slave, and the laws of other nations likewise decree punishments for such an offense, though milder ones. By this law Judaism declared that slavery is a forced concession to conditions and is contrary to the basic equality of men; hence if the slave succeeded in escaping from the forced condition, the Jew was to help him retain his rightful liberty. Thus a principle was injected by Judaism into the life of humanity which was bound to bear fruit and change civilization.

The change, though, proceeded very slowly and imperfectly, as is evidenced by present day events. Christianity and Islam both accepted the principle of the basic equality of men, but both made compromises with life and allowed its evils to exist and often by devious methods even sanctioned them. Thus, St. Augustine acknowledges that man was created by God free and was intended to rule over beasts only but not over his fellow man, but sin and guilt brought servitude. Noah laid a curse upon his son, Ham, for guilt. Thus St. Augustine justifies slavery by making it a punishment for sin. Or he attempts to explain it as a collective retribution upon the

*The fact that animals are also included in this enjoined rest does by no means invalidate this interpretation, for animals cannot labor by themselves and their work involves simultaneously the work of men.

entire human race for the fall of man. Also, he views human life as a twofold nature, a lower and a higher, and man as a citizen of two worlds, that of the earthly city with its evils and inequalities and of the spiritual city of God where equality reigns (City of God, XIX, 15, 16). That such a view is illogical it is superfluous to point out, but nevertheless it became with modifications the view of the Church through the ages. Still, the theoretical acknowledgment of basic equality was not entirely lost. True, compromises were made constantly not only in regard to this principle, but also in regard to others which Christianity adopted from Judaism, such as the precept "Love thy neighbor as thyself." The extent of the compromises made in regard to the latter is summarized in the statement of a modern thinker, that the principle of love thy neighbor as thyself was never doubted, but the question always arose, who is my neighbor?

Yet the principle of equality once ac-

cepted, though often disregarded, acted as a leaven in the course of history and together with other factors was ultimately responsible for the establishment of democratic governments in most of the European countries, and the extension of political suffrage to all classes. But as the human beast was not entirely tamed and it revolted once more against the restraint placed upon it by progress and ethical civilization, the present struggle ensued. In this struggle, the concept of democracy had to be restated and expanded to include a broader view of human equality.

It is immaterial whether the world recognizes the contribution of the spirit of Israel to the new order to which we look after victory in this war. People very seldom pay for long past services and are loath to acknowledge themselves debtors for ideas or principles which they now consider their own. But the consciousness by the Jews themselves of such a contribution should serve them as a modicum of compensation for all the agony they have endured in the present struggle.



Passage-Way

AARON BOHRD

Museum

By CARL GRABO

Lie hidden here while people go;
A child is small, the lights turned low,
And in the childish vengeful heart
Is outraged love and wounded pride;
Taste to the full the bitter smart,
And in the darkest shadows hide;
Lie secret here, no one will know
Until too late the missing one,
The lost lamb from the folded flock,
And quick arising fear will mock
The thoughtless slight which love has done.

Silence and vastness all around
Beat on the brain like swelling sound;
The bushman leaning on his spear
Seems in the dimness there to move,
The Indian loose the tautened bow,
And in the deeper shadow, fear
To stalk the huntsman as his prey.

Ghosts from the haunted past are they,
Ghosts that with twilight monsters strove,
Which in the jungles of the brain
Stir memories that live again,
Nightmare creations of the past,
Abortive, ghastly, cruel, vast,
That Nature in convulsion bore,
Then slew in her rapacity,
Perfecting in her cunning more
Than they achieved of cruelty.

The crafty mind, unbending will
That gaining mastery, must still
Unsatisfied move on to plan
Dominion, emulating God
Or Satan in his dreary hell,
Subduing matter to his nod—
What other creature serves so well
Destruction's purposes as Man?

Here in the marble entrance hall
Are ranged in slow ascendancy
From flattened foreheads, brutal jaws
To rounded skull and features fine,
The fruit of life's assembly line,
The goal of evolution's laws,
Wherein is demonstrated all
That man has been and yet could be.

But bronze is cold and sculpture lies;
These forms without the soul are dead,
The soul imprisoned in the eyes
That seeks enfranchisement from pain,
Release from warring love and hate,
And from despair by failure bred,
Which, brewing madness in the brain
Seeks in its torture to destroy
All things of beauty, light, and joy,
And leaves the whole world desolate.

The hurried step, the opened door,
Release at last from prison bars,
The brightness growing more and more—
To see through tears the well-loved face,
But bear within the soul those scars
That no love wholly can erase.



Foes of Fascism

MORRIS TOPCHEVSKY

Jews, Jobs, and the War

By MAX F. BAER

A DISCOURSE SUCH AS THIS should be prefaced by at least three major observations: (1) We have never had adequate data on Jewish occupational distribution in the United States, and statistical evidence of current trends is wholly non-existent. (2) Since the war-time labor market is extremely dynamic, statements and conclusions offered at this writing, however valid, may not be fully applicable even at press time. (3) The economic structure of the Jewish group is inextricably bound up with the general economic status of the country. This is particularly true in wartime, when both the occupational preferences of workers and the personnel preferences of employers are subject to external controls. Recognizing the inseparability of Jewish and general economic trends, we must analyze one in order to understand the other.

Manpower represents the most crucial economic problem confronting the Nation in the present conflict. With the immensity of our natural wealth and our technical genius we shall resolve the problem of raw material shortages. However, there is no ersatz for manpower. It is a fixed quantity which cannot be augmented for present needs. It is estimated that war industries will require the services of nearly 18,000,000 workers by the end of this year and at least 20,000,000 by the end of next year. About 6,500,000 men are expected to comprise the armed forces before the end of 1942 and about 9,500,000 to 10,000,000 before the end of 1943. The chairman of the War Manpower Commission, Paul V. McNutt, has stated that between 62,000,000 and 65,000,000

persons will be in industry and in the armed forces by December, 1943. This may mean as many as 13,500,000 persons in excess of the total American laboring force at the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor.

What are the sources of this new labor supply? War industries and the armed forces have been drawing manpower mainly from non-essential industries. The number of non-war workers, which was estimated at 29,400,000 at the time of our entry into the war, is expected to shrink to about 19,000,000 by the end of next year. Another 5,000,000 women will be brought into the labor market before that time, which should raise our female laboring force to 18,000,000. The number of unemployed is likely to be reduced to about 1,000,000. Many new workers will be recruited from among early school-leavers, the retired, and the physically and mentally handicapped. The importance of agriculture in the emergency makes it inevitable that farm workers be kept on their jobs by government controls. All of the labor reserves mentioned are not likely to forestall a general shortage of manpower. The fact that war industries are concentrated in certain areas and that the housing shortage in those areas limits the migration of workers are among the circumstances that may preclude full utilization of the Nation's labor supply.

With a general labor shortage impending, the Government is moving in the direction of a reallocation of workers so that there may be a maximum utilization of manpower in the war effort. All physically and mentally qualified males of mili-

tary age, with the exception of key people in industry, are destined for the armed forces. All workers in non-essential occupations are destined for some type of war service. This trend will probably be accelerated by legislation empowering the War Manpower Commission to draft both men and women for any war tasks.

The nearer the Nation approaches the goal of an all-out war effort, the more is the pattern of Jewish wartime occupational distribution likely to be identified with that of the population as a whole. This, of course, will be particularly true of Jewish participation in the armed forces. The Selective Service Act, which operates uniformly for all racial and religious groups in the American population, has called Jewish youth to the colors, as it has young men of all groups, in proportion to their numbers in the total population. Among the tens of thousands who have voluntarily enlisted in the armed forces Jews are well represented, as they have been in all previous American wars. Aside from the Jewish record of patriotism, there is a factor which may swell the ranks of Jewish soldiers and sailors in a proportion in excess of the ratio of the Jewish to the total American population. It is reasonable to assume that there will be relatively fewer deferments from military service among the Jewish group. Such a conclusion may be drawn from the fact that there is a proportionately smaller number of Jews in agriculture and in key industrial occupations and from the fact that the Jewish birth rate has been lower than that of the general population, thus accounting for fewer dependent children.

The induction of perhaps 300,000 to 400,000 Jews into the armed forces may have some influence on Jewish occupational distribution in the post-war period. The present war is a highly mechanized conflict. Many of our soldiers and sailors are being trained in technical and mechanical skill that are useful in civilian occupations. It is not unreasonable to ex-

pect that a substantial number of Jewish service men as well as many Jewish production workers who are receiving such training will seek post-war employment in related fields. Such a development would, of course, depend largely upon the nature and extent of job opportunities after the war.

This leads us into a consideration of the extent of Jewish participation in war production. As we have already indicated, there are no statistical data on the subject. Our conclusions, or shall we say impressions, are predicated mainly on the observations of Jewish Vocational service workers throughout the country, who were recently convened in Cleveland by the Jewish Occupational Council. It was reported that as a result of the drastic changes that have taken place in the labor market, Jewish vocational service agencies are experiencing little difficulty in placing qualified Jewish workers in war industries and in other essential enterprises. Indeed, these agencies, by and large, have more job openings than registrants who are able and willing to apply for them. Their new registrants tend more than formerly to be very young persons, older men and women, the physically handicapped and others who have always been less acceptable to employers.

Jewish men, according to reports presented at the Cleveland conference, are generally eager to enter war industries. Less interest in factory jobs is being shown by Jewish women, particularly in areas in which a tight labor market has not yet developed. The consensus was that the flow of Jewish women into war industries would be considerably accelerated with the enlargement of opportunities for women and with the depletion of the Nation's male labor reserves. It was agreed that there is still a considerable potential labor pool among Jews that are not now employed or that are currently engaged in civilian occupations.

It may be helpful to analyze some of

the special factors that are retarding as well as promoting Jewish participation in war production. Foremost among the factors unfavorable to such employment is the fact that opportunities in clerical and professional fields have been increasing concurrently with the rising demand for overall workers. Girls who have training or aptitude for clerical work can hardly be blamed for pursuing such jobs when the Government sponsors intensive recruiting campaigns for such workers, warning that the shortage of office personnel imperils the lives of American soldiers and sailors. War agencies and war industries are clamoring for professional workers—engineers, chemists, physicians, nurses, dentists, teachers, social workers. Indeed, aside from law, it appears that every profession is experiencing a wartime boom. Though the number of sales jobs will be drastically curtailed, even these are going begging as experienced sales workers are joining the industrial and armed forces. If the wearing of a white-collar is deemed as patriotic as the wearing of a blue collar, it is quite natural that many will prefer the former. There are not a few girls who are satisfied to get clerical jobs paying half as much as factory work.

We must also consider that thus far most of the critical labor shortages have been in skilled jobs. Comparatively few Jews have had the training and experience for such work. Those now enrolled in short-time training courses are not likely to acquire skills conducive to permanent factory employment. This will be particularly true if production is not maintained at a high level at the close of the war.

On the other hand, circumstances which tended to keep Jews out of overall jobs in the past have radically changed. First of all, and most obviously, the demand for workers in skilled and semi-skilled occupations has soared above any previous heights. Advice to Jewish youth to consider these fields of work in peacetime

sounded hollow, indeed. Opportunities in business and in the professions may have seemed discouraging, but young Jewish men preferred trying to buck these conditions to being unemployed draftsmen, mechanics and machinists. Today they are glad to avail themselves of the attractive jobs that have opened to them in virtually all technical fields.

Another stumbling block to Jewish entry into the skilled crafts has been removed since the launching of the defense program. During the years of the depression both unions and employers hesitated to accept apprentices, and Jewish as well as non-Jewish youth found it difficult to obtain training in the trades which they had chosen. Moreover, in many instances apprenticeships were closed except to relatives of workers already in the trade. This meant that Jewish youth could not readily break into trades in which Jews were negligibly represented. Apprenticeship and training programs have been revitalized and tremendously augmented under the impetus of the war drive, and Jews are sharing in the new training opportunities.

An important circumstance favoring greater Jewish employment in mechanical fields is the changing attitude toward overall jobs. A survey made about three years ago revealed that two-thirds of all the job-hunting youth in the country wanted to get into some kind of white-collar work, but only about 30 per cent of the available jobs were in that category. The preference for non-factory work was undoubtedly even more pronounced among Jewish youth. The emergency, however, has created among young people as well as their parents a new respect for the individual who is expert with his hands. Yesterday the machinist and mechanic were the forgotten men in the world of work; today kings and presidents and dictators bow before them. Whatever social and economic difficulties may beset us in the post-war period, we will have gained a profounder apprecia-

tion of the dignity and value of hand labor.

Still another significant development is the intercession of government in behalf of groups that have been suffering from economic discrimination. To the average person, Executive Order 8802 is just another number. But to millions of Jews, Negroes and members of other so-called minority groups, it is somewhat of another Emancipation Proclamation. "... I do hereby declare," wrote the President of the United States in Executive Order 8802, "that it is the duty of employers and of labor organizations . . . to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries, without discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin . . ." The order provided that all contracts made by the Government with war contractors shall include clauses requiring the contractor not to discriminate against any worker because of race, creed, color, or national origin. It also set up a Committee on Fair Employment Practice, which shall "receive and investigate complaints of discrimination in violation of the provisions of this order and shall take appropriate steps to redress grievances which it finds to be valid."

Last fall the President followed up the order by a sharp instruction to all Government departments to "make a thorough examination of their personnel policies and practices to the end that they may be able to assure me that in the Federal Service the doors of employment are open to all loyal and qualified workers regardless of creed, race, or national origin." The fact that there were some 2,300,000 civilian employees in Federal jobs in October, 1942 emphasizes the significance of this order.

In recent directives the War and Navy department and the Maritime Commission ordered all references to race and religion deleted from job application forms of war contractors. Plans are now

being made for the organization of regional offices of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice — a development which augurs better enforcement of the Government's non-discrimination policy. Thus far the Committee has been more "bark" than "bite." Insertion of anti-discrimination clauses in war contracts is one thing; enforcement of their provisions is quite another. The Committee has achieved some results in connection with public hearings in Los Angeles, Chicago and New York. Raked over the coals, recalcitrant employers promised to live up to the Government policy against job prejudice. Other hearings are contemplated.

Many instances of discrimination against Jewish job-seekers are still being reported, particularly in higher technical and in professional occupations. There has, however, been a noticeable improvement in the attitude of employers. How much of this is due to Government pressure and how much to the growing labor shortage cannot be measured. Although not too much can be expected in the way of relief against prejudice in promotions, we may safely venture the prediction that as the Nation reaches its wartime production peak every qualified Jew who wants a job will get one without difficulty. It is possible that before we reach that point the President's Committee, which is now operating as an integral part of the War Manpower Commission, will get a new set of sharp teeth. No doubt, government action against un-American employment practices is a highly significant development, which, it is hoped, may carry over, at least to some extent, to the post-war era.

In considering the impact of the war on the economic position of American Jewry there may be special significance in the effects of current restrictions on business enterprise. It is estimated that 60 per cent of the Nation's industries will eventually be engaged in filling war orders and only 40 per cent will supply essential civilian

requirements. In discussing the necessity for complete dismantling of manufacturing facilities which cannot be fitted into the war picture, Donald M. Nelson, chairman of the War Production Board, recently stated that before the war is over "we shall need to use in some way for essential purposes all the management ability we have, all the manpower we have and all the materials we have." These developments will strike particularly at small manufacturers and business concerns, which cannot adapt themselves to the emergency with the same facility as the big concerns.

Though business casualties have not yet reached noticeable proportions, wholesalers, jobbers, retailers and service establishments are finding it increasingly difficult to secure the goods and materials necessary for continued operation. According to the Department of Commerce, sales of all retail stores are expected to decline about 20 per cent in physical volume in the first half of 1943 compared with the first half of this year. This involves increased expense ratios which, the report states, will result in eventual net loss. Losses are also caused by price control regulations which do not permit retail prices to adjust fully to higher wholesale prices. Small retailers will be particularly vulnerable during the emergency, since they will not receive the same favored consideration in purchasing goods and materials from manufacturers and producers as the big and powerful business concerns. It is, therefore, no wonder that the Undersecretary of Commerce recently told the Senate Small Business Committee that about 300,000 business establishments, mainly small retail stores, are expected to go to the wall in 1943.

The implications of these developments to the Jewish group are not difficult to grasp. Jews play an insignificant role in the capital goods industries, which are being fed by war contracts. The consumer

goods industries, which are being drastically curtailed, have in the past offered good opportunities for Jews. Jewish ownership and management have been mainly prevalent in wholesale and retail trade and in certain types of service establishments. All of these businesses depend upon both capital and consumer goods industries. With the former converted to war production and many of the latter strangled by priorities, the outlook in the distributive occupations is gloomy indeed. The picture appears even darker to the many thousands of small Jewish retailers.

There is at present much political activity in behalf of small business, but whether or not it can be translated into results is problematical. The problem cannot be written off as just another of the many sacrifices that must be made in wartime. Its real significance lies in the strong possibility that we may emerge from this war with big business bigger than ever and with small business, long the bulwark of our system of free enterprise, reduced to an unimportant place in our economy.

We have indicated that the availability of opportunities in white-collar and professional fields and lack of past training and experience in mechanical work are among the factors which tend to limit the flow of Jewish workers into the heavy industries. We have, on the other hand, pointed to factors which are favorable to the absorption of a substantially greater number of Jews into factory employment: the tremendous enlargement of opportunities in this type of work, the establishment of new training facilities, the changing attitude towards manual skills, and the activity of government agencies in behalf of fair employment practice. In the final analysis the situation will be determined by general economic conditions prevailing after the war. Many Jews who are now receiving training of a technical and mechanical nature for the armed and industrial forces will want to apply

these skills in peacetime, provided that such opportunities will be open to them.

We have also outlined some of the war-time forces that are expected to result in a high number of business casualties. The Jew, who has never succeeded in attaining a foothold in big American business, naturally hopes that he will not be

squeezed out of the smaller place which he has occupied in our economic system. But even more fervently he prays, as his sons fight, for a United Nations victory, whatever sacrifices to him that may entail. For only in the triumph of democracy will he again be able to earn a living in a world that is worth living in.



The Cabbalist

DAVID BEKKER

Dynamic Democracy

By REUBEN FREEDMAN

THE RISE OF FASCISM and the events following it have compelled us in America to re-examine and re-appraise the values of the democratic way of life. With the outbreak of the war and our active participation in it, we have become vitally concerned with the preservation of these values. But it is becoming increasingly evident that the common man will not be satisfied with a restoration of the *status quo ante bellum*. Since our entry into the conflict the pressure of public opinion has evoked from our government a statement of peace aims, embodied in the now celebrated Atlantic Charter. Such a declaration of our objectives was essential not only in the interests of civil and military morale, but also because of the realization that if we are to have a lasting and intelligent peace, we must plan for it in the midst of the war.

The most significant aspect of our national stock-taking, however, is not to be found in any single achievement. Rather is it to be observed in the growing tendency to revise, critically, both the form and content of our democracy. The concept of democracy itself is slowly widening so as to embrace within its ambit new meanings and values hitherto excluded. The old and narrow concept of democracy as a political device for the protection of the individual against the encroachments of government is giving way to the broad view of democracy as an instrument for the achievement of social justice. This expanded concept of democracy, already implemented to some extent by the legislative reforms of the New Deal, has in turn caused many of us to revise some

of our notions concerning the beneficence of the "free enterprise" system.

In the pioneer stage of our national development, when the population was sparse and communities widely separated from one another, the individual hardly felt the hand of a government that was distant and almost literally invisible. Accordingly, it was only natural that each person should feel that he was a law unto himself, and that government was an evil; and it was to be expected that a philosophy which regarded that country as best governed which was least governed would be universally accepted. The coming of the Industrial Revolution and the development of the factory system changed all this; and with the change came an expanding concept of democracy, due, in large part, to the social and economic problems thrown up by the Industrial Revolution itself, and the establishment of the wage system. Problems of unemployment, poverty, disease, and crime increased in number and complexity, to the point where government intervention became necessary. Legislation for the institution of social controls over "free enterprise"—which had created the problems in the first instance—could not be sanctioned except upon the basis of an extension of the meaning and purpose of democracy. Little by little, the resistance of the capitalist entrepreneur to the social changes inaugurated by government was broken down, and the doctrine of rugged individualism radically modified. In this manner we secured our factory legislation and our anti-trust laws. The New Deal represents a further, and

more devastating, transformation of our traditional political philosophy.

The reforms of the New Deal, however, have only mitigated some of the evils of the "free enterprise" system. They have not eliminated them. But the feeling is growing that there is something radically and inherently wrong with a system that has not been able to resolve the oft-noted paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty, and that when war is over we shall need not less, but more of the kind of social control over "free enterprise," if democracy is to survive. As Max Lerner has aptly said, the problem facing us is how to give democracy economic content without destroying the democratic mould.

In order to achieve this objective we shall have to begin by shedding some of our pet illusions. The most persistent of these, and one which is woven fast into the texture of our folklore, is the assumption that democracy and "free enterprise" are inextricably bound together—Siamese twins that cannot survive if separated. The idea that we are a democracy *because* of the "free enterprise" system is a fallacy. Japan and Germany made their greatest strides, economically, under a system of "free enterprise." Yet the expansion of these countries was quite consistent with an autocratic political system. The fact is that many forms of business can and do flourish regardless of the nature of the political regime or system. The identification of capitalism, therefore, with democracy is not more logical than its identification with autocracy. Under Hitler, Germany has abolished democracy, but it has not abolished capitalism. It has simply modified it for war emergency purposes only. What is true of Germany is equally true of Italy and Spain. In none of these countries has capitalism been destroyed. On the contrary, it has taken on a new lease of life, very largely as the result of the great assistance given by the industrialists and financiers of these countries to Hitler, Mussolini and

Franco respectively,—whom they considered their saviors from the wrath of the masses. The false identification of democracy with "free enterprise" and the resulting confusion of thought are due in large measure to the historical fact that they grew up in the same era.

Another illusion that must be relegated to the discard, if we are to face the situation realistically, is the notion that economic democracy will not work. As a matter of fact, all students of economics recognize that a substantial increase in economic democracy is inevitable in the United States and England, when the war is over. In England, Harold Laski has called upon his countrymen to prepare the groundwork for the new social order as a token of the fulfillment that is to come. We in America need have no fear of dictatorship such as accompanied the people's control of economic life in Russia. We can avoid this evil by the same means which we employ to control political dictatorship. After all, we have a long standing tradition of democracy such as the Russians did not possess. To argue that the people of the United States are capable of *political*, but not of *economic* self-government is to confess a lack of faith in the common man, and therefore in democracy itself.

A third notion we shall have to scrap is that increased economic control implies the complete abandonment of our form of government. To assume this is to imply that the purpose of the constitution itself is merely to preserve uncontrolled business enterprise. Such assumption is totally unwarranted. The right of the people even to take private property for public use if they will is of the very essence of democracy. It is a right inherent in the people, and is anterior to the Constitution itself. All that the Constitution does is to create the condition under which the right may be exercised, namely, upon the payment of just compensation.

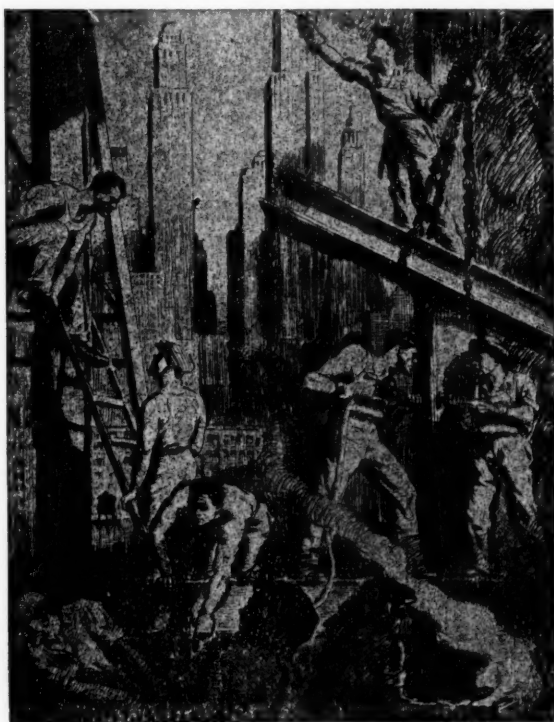
The Vice-president, in his memorable speech, recently characterized the age as

that of the common man. The common man will not come into his own, however, unless he can be invested with complete control over his economic destiny. Only in this manner will he achieve the conditions of economic security necessary to his complete liberation. Only in this wise can democracy survive in this country. Moreover democracy will have to be extended until it encompasses the entire globe.

If peace is to be permanent, the world itself must be democratized. A world half free, half slave, cannot endure. It can be all free only when it is all democratic. A new world organization will be necessary to implement the democratic ideal. In

fashioning the new world order, we liberals will all have to play our part. We know where our allegiance lies, for we cannot survive except in a democratic world. We must therefore help build it, for we have no right to salvation unless we ourselves carry our share of the burden of achieving it. Concretely, the alignments of those who desire peace and justice must ever be with the forces of social progress.

World peace can be achieved only through a sensible world organization, social justice only through a sensible economic organization. Today the world has neither peace nor social justice. That is what is wrong with it.

*Construction*

N. P. STEINBERG

Problems of Jewish Philanthropy

By SAMUEL A. GOLDSMITH

THE WELFARE of the Jews, the very survival of many of them, is inextricably bound up with the survival of the people among whom they live, and with the survival of some political system, like that of America, which permits social, economic and religious freedom, and asserts the essential dignity of the individual human being.

The essential problem of Jewish life in America has been that Jewish philanthropy has taken up too much of our energies, and has been, to a large extent, the only means of expression of community organization and the community's will. Not all Jews, of course, have shared this community effort. Too many Jews have been concerned only with their own particular social and economic interests, and have stayed far away from the work of the Jewish community, even in the field of philanthropy. This has been just as true of some labor leaders who were Jewish as of some rich persons who were Jewish, even the newly rich. It has also been true of many Jewish intellectuals and professionals.

Yet philanthropy has been extraordinarily important to us. There were the years of the great immigration and the concomitant necessity for creating organizations to care for families and children, young people, old people, sick people, who presented problems that were the by-products of the process of immigration. There were and still are the years of physical destruction of European Jewry, and American Jewish philanthropy had to play a part in the great problems of rebuilding communities, rebuilding individual lives, opening areas of resettlement,

assisting in the establishment and growth of the Jewish commonwealth in Palestine.

A people in transition, a people in the process of settlement, a people confronted with local and world problems, and a people which, at the same time, is without a government of its own, must necessarily create private institutions through which they can express their communal ideals, their will to survive, and develop methods for salvaging as many individual members of the community as possible. Men, money, and work are still the three cardinal elements in Jewish or general community life. There are new problems and new situations that confront us with regard to each of these.

War, as it is waged now, in which every member of every community at war is a combatant, necessarily brings with it a redistribution of the effective personnel of the nation. As time goes on the problem of personnel is twofold: (1) the draining off of the young, and (2) to an increasing extent, the redirection of the middle-aged leadership of our community, especially of the leadership among the men.

Men will be lost to the armed forces, to industry, and to the supervising bureaus of government. What is more natural than that those persons with abilities or character, and trained for professional or business careers, should be precisely the ones whom the Army, Navy, and Air Force, as well as government and industry, want for the essential job of preserving the nation?

It is unfortunate at this time that so few women in the community have been

trained for leadership. In very few places have women had the opportunity to serve in responsible positions. Jewish women in particular have not. We shall do the best we can with older leaders among the men and with those women who have not been drained off these days into more dramatic and more satisfying activities. The lack of leaders is already beginning to be felt rather keenly, and will be more serious as time goes on, not only in our local works, but works of a national and international nature.

Taken by and large, therefore, a great deal of the leadership that will remain in our Jewish communities will be leadership of advanced years. It does not follow that in every individual instance the leadership will therefore be of an ultra-conservative, hide-bound type. All of us have had the thrilling experience of finding older men and older women who have the capacity to think radically, that is, to think in terms of fundamentals, and to appreciate the effects of changing conditions. Many of the older men in our communities are men who have had to fight their way up through all gradations of business, industry, and professional life, and who have maintained positions of leadership by virtue of the fact that they have retained flexible minds.

Probably the gravest lack will be that of trained leadership for the future. We may, within a few years, face a situation in which power over our communal life will again come to those "who knew not Joseph." The possibility of serious change in the conduct of our various institutions must be faced. The program for these may not be as flexible as it should become during the war and the post-war period.

Over the last twenty years, very significant changes have occurred in the underlying situations that affected the programs of "work" of various Jewish communal endeavors. During this period of insignificant immigration, we witnessed a gradual settling down of a large immi-

grant people. There was every evidence during the 1920's that, as members of our community-at-large, they had made, on the whole, an excellent economic and a reasonably good social adjustment. Rapidly, as individuals, they were becoming valued parts of general American life.

Such a state of things produced significant changes in the communal programs of the Jews. There was a great drive toward a federation of activities, both local charitable federations, and so-called Jewish Welfare Funds ministering to national and overseas needs. This was possible because in the process of settling down, the various and previously totally antagonistic groups had learned to know each other, and, as members of the groups moved from one social and economic status to another, some of the old animosities were lost. Federated activity accelerated this unifying process. It also led to great changes in program. There was a falling off in the volume of service required for families and for children, and there was a blossoming forth of new and beautiful buildings, especially in the field of hospital and clinic care and the care of the aged.

It was during the period of the 20's that we began to give serious attention in all the communities of the country to a redistribution of the funds required for various types of activities. It was during this period, too, that Jewish education first shared community funds, receiving money no longer required for certain relief activities. The changed program reflected the changes in the social and economic conditions of the community. Then, of course, there came the 30's, and the years of depression which merged into the war years. This period further altered the entire program of social welfare activities not only for the Jewish community but for the entire country.

It was realized quite early that the problems were far beyond the scope of private charity, even private charity when banded together for fund raising purposes

in general community chests. We witnessed during the 1930's long strides taken by our federal and local governments in ameliorating the conditions of those in need of assistance. We did more than create great relief funds. We created so-called "social security" funds which were to take care of the aged, the unemployed, and will also, we hope, some day take care of the sick. Not merely millions, but billions of dollars were spent and put aside for these purposes.

The members of the Jewish community were, of course, subject to these benefits and protected by the social security laws. During the depression many more Jewish families in a city like Chicago received assistance from public funds than from the private Jewish charities. Probably this was true of most of the larger industrial centers of the country where there were sizable Jewish populations.

We come, therefore, to a time when we must adapt private philanthropy, Jewish and otherwise, to the over-all plans of government, to the plans of a socially conscious government. It is likely that this expression of the social consciousness of the American people will vary from time to time. There will be periods when governmental assistance of various kinds will be more pervasive than at other times. Generally speaking, however, this is a permanent form of governmental activity which will survive as it has survived essentially in other nations through all economic vicissitudes and even war. The welfare, therefore, of our people in America—the social and economic needs, so far as these are met by charity—will increasingly be met by governmental institutions of all types.

Our government has also extended to the people of other nations, during war times—naturally, to people of friendly nations, under lend-lease arrangement—very substantial assistance to prevent as far as possible starvation and disease. Food is being shipped to various parts of

the world even during the war, and it is quite likely that just as the American Relief Administration and the Red Cross at other times have received governmental aid to assist foreign populations, after this war such assistance will be greatly extended to many millions of people, particularly in Europe and possibly in Asiatic countries such as China.

This is a significant portent of things to come for the sorely oppressed Jews of much of the world as well as for other people. It is certain that the fond policy which we have held so close to our hearts—namely, that the Jews of America could and should be responsible for the rehabilitation of the Jews in Poland, Hungary, Roumania, and other countries where there has been acute suffering—will have to be changed. It is a fatuous policy under present world conditions, and under such conditions as can be foreseen.

Even if we could visualize an annual income of \$100,000,000,000 for the American people in post-war years, and a consequent average prosperity for the approximately 1,300,000 Jewish families in the country there still would not be enough money to do what has to be done for the Jews of the world, socially, economically, and charitably. This is a large and ramified question. Though some millions would be required to initiate programs, to make studies, to give some primary forms of relief, to subsidize surviving institutions, the great work of rehabilitation of the Jews in Europe, as well as of the people among whom they live, will be the job of a consortium of government, and not of private relief bodies. We must begin to think not in terms of elementary philanthropies, but in larger social and political terms. There must be no recurrence of intense suffering because economic and other discriminations continue their vile course into periods of peace. The example of what has been done in Palestine should be

before us, not from the standpoint of the zealot, but from the standpoint of the statesman.

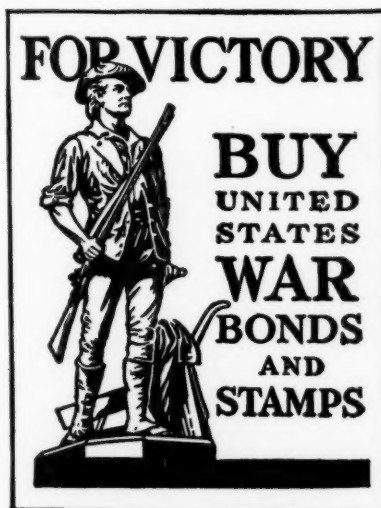
It may well be that as a result of the war and even during it there will be an increase in the wealth and well-being of many people. Charitable institutions, however, have depended in the past to a very large measure upon the excess income of those in the upper brackets. Over the last few years, there has been a shift. Some of the Jewish community funds that used to receive 75 and 80 per cent of their contributions from about 2 per cent of their contributors, now receive 50 per cent or less from them. Many of these rich people may give just as much money individually and some of them have been foresighted enough to create charitable foundations in the years of great income; some may continue to do so. However, by and large, and around the world, it will be necessary to curtail large incomes in order to have funds with which to prosecute the war and to rebuild the world after the war. Many of the middle-class and many of the workers' groups are not trained to give to central communal funds. Furthermore, they will be taxed, too.

Funds for the maintenance of such of the charitable systems as may be required will therefore come from many sources, including the impersonal sources indicated by corporations. So far as local philanthropy is concerned today, this is already true of most Jewish communities, because Jewish charities are usually members of community chests and now receive their funds from corporations and employee groups as well as from individuals. It is all beside the point whether the local Jewish community gives as much as it takes from the various community chests. The fact is that the corporation and the individual dollars are so commingled that it is difficult to determine just how much any particular group in the community supports its own institutions. The whole community,

Christian and Jewish, supports all the important Jewish as well as Christian institutions.

Similar in kind is the promotion and the establishment of war chests. In those communities where Jewish Welfare Funds have joined or will join in such war chests, the entire American community will be supporting, at one time, local philanthropies; work on behalf of the men in our armed forces; British, Russian, Chinese, Jewish, and other forms of foreign relief; and local civilian defense activities.

The implications of this new development are beyond the scope of this article. It is a fact, however, that government and the general community are increasingly playing a part in providing the funds for Jewish philanthropic causes. This may, in the long run, have the effect of subordinating philanthropy as the all-important activity of the Jewish community. When that time comes we may be a very much better community—a community much more at home with the people among whom we live, and in every sense a healthier community.



Exodus

By SELWYN S. SCHWARTZ

My Uncle loved Wagner: My Uncle had the
cry of a violin, the firmament of the sea:
that was the Love that nurtured him, while
his word was sacred:

 All day long
the wind in Babel speech, herding a boasting
profanity, and truth it is, clear as fire.
My Uncle's knees glowed between pilpul and stall to find
deliverance beside the bouncing sun,
 as he walked
legless, Chagallistic,
upon the flames of fragile gods and
growing farther through ruffled heights
in the blindness adrift.

My Uncle held timelessness in his eyes: My
Uncle loved singing, to help him phrase
parables of the infinite,
 as he walked
unfaltered: the Sun must have read
his name off his caftan, initialed obscurities
of solvent mileage, while the wind iterating
once more:

Whither to flee?

He did not hug his feet, but held thunder
in his step, and then waves of sand in his
beard sailed unto his blood, and the thunder
became thirsty, Cordova it was, where his
song melted.

And there, he dreamed of Spinoza. The Sun of
known seasons
wrote its continued pathos on the tongues
of the evergreens, morning after morning.

"They Also Serve . . ."

By STEPHEN J. MICHAEL

MY FRIEND, Alfred Stahl, is in the habit of making the most preposterous assertions. That is to say, his observations often seem preposterous at the time, but later they prove to be not so preposterous at all. Some men are born too early—ages before their time. Stahl, however, is generally only a few hours, or a few months, or perhaps a few years ahead of his time. Time catches up with him early enough so that he could, if he were so inclined, say "I told you so." But he seldom does. He isn't that kind of person.

It was Stahl who first pointed out to me the danger of Fascism. That was way back in 1921, before Mussolini had actually ascended to power.

"There is danger in that Mussolini movement," he told me then. "Very grave danger. And unless something is done about it, it may engulf the world."

Later, when Mussolini did seize power, and assumed the role of Roman Dictator, Stahl said to me, "That is the beginning of the world revolution. We are all in it now, all of us, and it won't end until we or they are victorious in the bloodiest war that history has ever known."

When I look back upon how peaceful the world was then, in 1922, and how strongly discredited were all who thought in terms of war, I shudder at Stahl's uncanny prognostication.

"But who," I asked him at that time, "are 'we,' and who are 'they'?"

"We," he answered, "are those who have inherited the hope for a better world. 'They' are all those who fear that our hopes may be realized. The world is divided, and has long been divided, into

two disunited camps, consisting of various groups, all of which, even 'they,' give lip-service to humanitarian principles and to the ideals of progress. The fact that even 'they' are obliged to give lip-service to these principles and ideals indicates that in a sense we have the upper hand, that at least we are in the majority, that our ideals are universally accepted. But we are not united any more than 'they' have been. And because of this, 'they' can afford to give lip-service to our ideals, especially inasmuch as our lack of unity enables them to act, if not to speak, in terms of their own ideas. As long as we were unable to act efficiently in accordance with our own principles, they seemed to accept them. What harm was there in that? But now, as a result of the war, there is a great wave of disillusionment over the world. It is confused and unorganized, but it is there. Take our last election. The election of Harding did not mean a return to conservatism, as so many think. It was a vote of protest, a confused and mistaken vote of protest, against the party that was in. It was a vague and incipient manifestation of the disillusionment of which I speak. The only way the conservatives can possibly retain power now is by disrupting our economy for a while in order to make the people complacent again. I don't know whether or not they will succeed. The mid-term election next month [this was in October, 1922] may tell them whether they have gone far enough as yet. But they are taking no chances. That is why they supported Mussolini in Italy. That is why I say his seizure of power is dangerous. That is why I am convinced that this

marks the beginning of the world revolution. Here is something that 'they' can unite upon. We have nothing like it as yet."

It was about a month later, after the November election, that I met Stahl again.

"What did I tell you?" he said. "The conservatives aren't secure, by any means.

"But the conservatives won," I insisted.

"Yes, but have you examined the vote carefully? See how many of them just managed to come over the wire. Lodge, in Massachusetts, who personified the opposition to Wilson in the Senate, barely squeezed through. And look at all the 'radicals' that got in, even though some of them are called Republicans. Look at the candidates of the Non-Partisan League who came through. We've even got a member of the Farmer-Labor Party in the Senate. That doesn't spell a conservative walk-away. The people are still in an ugly mood. This election means two things: It means we're going to witness some refined economic manipulation here; and it means we're going to see an all out support of the thing Mussolini stands for in Europe."

And then Stahl said a very strange thing.

"Watch Germany," he said. "That's the country to watch. Mussolini is not the man for them. He was born in the wrong country. The Italians can't prove dangerous enough in themselves, no matter how capable Mussolini proves to be. Now the Germans—there's a country which, if led by a Mussolini, could throw us back to the Middle Ages."

When I came upon this statement the other day in going over my notes about Stahl, I shivered. His prediction was uncanny. . . . But there are other notes that are equally, or almost equally, significant.

"Is Churchill to be trusted?" he said, in June 1940. "I don't know. But I think I'll be able to tell you in about six months."

"How is that?"

"Roosevelt will certainly run for a third term, and if Churchill doesn't do anything to help defeat him, I'll say he is sincere in his determination to destroy Hitler."

Six months later, the day after the 1940 election, he said: "Hitler has lost the war. He lost it because he lost the most important battle of all, the battle of November 5."

Stahl's gloom over the rise of Hitler, although he had predicted it, had been very great. He saw each step in the madman's rise with surprising clarity. He distrusted everyone, feared everyone. He placed little emphasis upon Hitler's "genius" or upon any of his so-called abilities. It made him angry to hear anyone give Hitler even the slightest credit for anything, even for his diabolical schemes.

"They talk about Hitler as if he actually possessed a brain," he would exclaim angrily. "Come," he said, "come with me to 'Bug-House Square' and I'll show you a dozen Hitlers. . . . The man's a tool," he insisted, "a tool for a far more sinister gang than Hitler could ever have mustered by himself. If Hitler's a genius, so was Harding, so was Coolidge, so are dozens of those men who stand up on a box across from the Newberry Library and rant and rant about their wild schemes. Hitler began to rant at the opportune moment. His lungs were useful, and so was the debasing quality of his instincts. He said the things that 'they' wanted to say but didn't dare because they were presumed to be gentlemen. He could be relied upon to do 'their' dirty work, their dirtiest work—which had to be done if they were going to crush the aroused spirit of liberalism that endangered their hold upon the world."

When liberals generally were castigating the French and English "statesmen" for their stupidity in following the policy of appeasement, Stahl's disgust with the liberals knew no bounds.

"Stupidity, indeed! It's they, the liberals, who are stupid. The trouble with liberals is that they read the wrong books. They read Karl Marx when they should be reading Machiavelli. Hitler rose to power, not because he tricked anyone. He rose to power because 'they' wanted him to rise. They're after big game, these so-called 'stupid' appeasers. They're not after Russia, or if they are that's only incidental. They're after bigger game than that. They're out to destroy liberalism and democracy in the Western world, in the whole world. They prefer feudalism to democracy, and that's what they're out to get—a new feudalism, in which man will be bound to the machine instead of to the land. They don't care for their countries. What is country to them? Feudalism, the old feudalism, was anti-nationalistic also. Wasn't it nationalism that destroyed it? They use the nationalistic jargon of Hitler and Mussolini now as a means of confusion. But in the end they mean to enslave all people—Germans, Italians, Frenchmen, Britons, Americans alike—all the common people of the earth."

The only leader whom Stahl seemed to trust implicitly was Roosevelt.

"The President," he said to me many times, "is no dreamer, no airy 'liberal' with his head in the clouds. . . . To be sure, his heart is in the right place, or he would be dangerous, too. But I trust his heart. And trusting it, I'm glad that he has a brain. He knows what it's all about. He sees the whole picture, clearly and with deep insight. He knows who among his associates are with him and who are against him. And what is more, he seems to have read Machiavelli. He knows. Trust the President every time. He's a great man. The 'liberals' peck at him, But I think he can take even that in his stride. He's miles ahead of them every time. And when he doesn't seem to be—well, as I said, he's read Machiavelli, and knows the character of those with whom he has to deal."

Stahl was hurt in an automobile accident the day before the recent election. He was hurt bad. When I went to the hospital, after casting my vote the next morning, he was still in a coma. The doctors didn't think he would live.

That night, however, he rallied sufficiently to say to me: "How did the election come out?"

I told him that all the returns weren't in yet, but it looked bad.

"The damn fools!" he said. "The stupid damn fools!" And then he went back to sleep.

The next day he was considerably better. He was not yet out of danger, and I hated to tax his strength by talking too much with him. But it seemed to do him good. The doctors thought so too.

"Look," he said to me. "It isn't nearly so bad as I thought. New York was really an exceptional case. I don't think, if I lived in New York, that I'd have voted for Bennett myself. And apart from New York, where is all this 'shift' in sentiment away from the President the commentators talk about? A shift would mean that people who voted for the President before, voted against him this time. I doubt that this is true. As a matter of fact, fewer people voted against the administration yesterday than voted against it in 1940. It is true that fewer voted for the administration also. But to determine the shift in sentiment we'd have to know why so many people stayed away from the polls."

"I know why you stayed away," I said, looking at the pulley above his bed.

"Yes," he said sadly, without even a flicker of a smile. "But millions failed to vote yesterday, many millions. One report, I heard, estimated that the vote will be about forty per cent of the total. Why? Many voters, of course, are with the armed forces. Many more are temporarily disfranchised war-workers who lost their vote because of residence requirements. But that doesn't account for all of them, by any means. What is more, of these

voters, a good portion of them would undoubtedly have voted against the administration, for it is difficult to believe that all those who voted against the President in 1940, and did not vote this time, have been won over—Pearl Harbor or no Pearl Harbor. The issues were clearly drawn in the last election. Pearl Harbor did not change the opinions of nearly so many as we should like to believe. It caused such a change in some, but not in enough to make up the difference. On the other hand, I'll venture to say that very few of the stay-at-homes yesterday had voted against the President two years ago. Yesterday's stay-at-home vote was—in 1940—a pro-Roosevelt vote. The Roosevelt-haters, you may be sure, got out their maximum vote. The administration did not. Why? I'll tell you why."

Stahl always likes to ask me questions. When he asks them of someone else, he frequently gets an answer. But I am an unknowing person, and always permit him to answer his questions himself.

"The fact that presumably pro-administration voters failed to go to the polls yesterday," he went on, "indicates that there was in a certain sense a shift away from the President. But it was not a strong enough shift to cause these people to vote for the opposition. They are confused. They are actually with the President. They were with him in 1932. They were with him in 1936. And they were with him in 1940. They were for the New Deal. And they were for his foreign policy. But, while they considered him the ideal man to run the country when it needed his broad humanitarian heart, and when we needed a leader capable of arousing the conscience of the world, they feel—not completely, but in a vague, confused sort of way—that he may not be the man to put his fine idealism into practice. We've been at war almost a year. There have been no resounding military victories. Our state department still plays around with Vichy. The opposition capi-

talized on all this—not enough to get these people to vote for them, but enough to arouse sufficient doubts in their minds to cause them to stay away from the polls. But let a military victory come—next month or a month later—any time in the near future—and they'll be ashamed of themselves for not having voted. Roosevelt hasn't lost them, by any means. And the opposition press is gloating entirely too soon."

That was the Wednesday after the election. Four days later, on Sunday morning, following the grand news of our occupation of Africa, I couldn't hurry to the hospital fast enough to see how Stahl was taking it.

He was in great spirits, and physically, the doctors told me, well on the road to recovery.

"Well, it came," I said.

"Yes," he beamed. "It came. And did you hear that commentator say this morning that those who voted for Ham Fish must now feel ashamed of themselves?"

No, I hadn't heard it.

"Well, one of them did say that, the stupid ass. As if anything could shame those who voted for Ham Fish, or Curly Brooks, or Stephen Day. It's those who didn't vote *against* these men who are ashamed of themselves. . . . And I'm ashamed of myself, too."

"You? But you weren't even conscious while the voting was going on."

"It isn't that. I'm ashamed of my own stupidity, ashamed for not realizing how great a man and how great a patriot the President really is. . . . Do you realize that he actually used the election as part of the military campaign?"

Accustomed as I am to Stahl's "preposterous" theories, I instinctively looked at his chart.

"No," he went on. "I mean it. As I told you many times, I was sure all along that the so-called differences among those who were in a position to know regarding the second front, and even regarding

Vichy, were nonsense. There was no lack of unity among the United Nations at any time since we entered the war. Criticism of the conduct of the war—even by administration spokesmen, and by leaders in England and in Russia and China—was all a blind to cover up the real plan. You remember I told you that even Willkie—though I may have been mistaken there—said what he said under orders. Certainly Stalin was talking for German consumption, and not ours."

I remembered he had said these things.

"But," Stahl continued, "what I didn't see was that the President was actually willing to sacrifice the election of his friends in order to make all this seeming disunity appear authentic."

"That, I'm afraid, is too much."

"Not at all," Stahl insisted. "If I could suspect that the disunity was not real, the Germans could have suspected it also. But it was hard for them to believe that the President, as the leader of his party, could be 'disloyal' to his party in the interest of a greater loyalty to his country and to humanity. That is why he failed to give adequate support in the election to some of his best party leaders. That is why he seemed to add to the confusion rather than dispel it. That is why he sent Willkie to Russia. That is why he answered Willkie's criticism as he did. And it was all this that assured the Germans and lulled them into a feeling of confidence. Note, too, that the African campaign, planned months ahead, was timed to take place immediately after the election, at the moment of greatest assurance and greatest relaxation on the part of the enemy."

By this time, I began to feel my friend's pulse, and looked to the door, hoping the nurse would come in.

"Don't be a fool!" he exclaimed, drawing his hand away from mine. "Don't you realize what I'm saying? The stay-at-home vote helped win the war."

"Helped win the war?"

"This African campaign," Stahl went on, "is the turning point in the war, and its perfection depended upon the confusion of the American electorate. Thus, the stay-at-homes can take a measure of satisfaction from the fact that their failure to uphold the President was really necessary, and in this way they too have served."

. . . Algiers, Morocco, the Solomons, New Guinea . . .

"Thousands at his bidding speed,
And post o'er land and ocean without
rest;
They also serve who only stand and
wait."

Milton, too, was blind. It was sacrilege, of course, but how could I answer this man who had for years presented me with "impossible" theories that more often than not turned out to be correct?

Here the nurse came into the room, and I welcomed the opportunity to remain silent, and took my departure.

As I was leaving, he called after me, "Remember what I told you some time ago about Spain. Keep your eye on Spain."

But I was too bewildered to keep my eye on anything but the door.

War Goods Come C. O. D.

By PAUL G. ANNES

THE GENERATION that fights a war has to pay its costs. There is no way of postponing any part of this payment unless another nation should give or lend us the needed war goods. In the present conflict, in so far as we are concerned, there is no such country; lend-lease is working mostly the other way. Taxation, or the lack of it, has nothing to do with the necessity of paying for the war while we fight it. The struggle must be won with weapons produced now, not sometime in the future.

To produce the instruments of war we must give up the materials and labor which could otherwise produce housing, automobiles, clothing and many other useful things. The production of war goods* in place of useful things is the true measure of the nation's war bill. If in 1943, at least half, perhaps sixty per cent, of our total production goes directly into the war effort, then sixty-five to seventy-five billion dollars will be the cost of the war to the people of the United States in that year, and this fully paid for. True, the standard of living will not fall to the same degree. That is so because we still have large inventories to draw on; and also because many people now engaged in war work were previously idle. To the extent that idleness has been replaced by war activity, there is no economic difference to the country as a whole. Nevertheless there will be a substantial drop in living standards. The more guns the less butter. We cannot have both.

Let us not be confused by the fact that

*The term "goods" throughout this discussion includes services.

the war has caused a large increase in the "national income." It will be increased still further. That does not automatically mean an increase in national welfare. The term "income" is misleading. It tends to convey the sense of gain. In wartime that is not true. A clearer idea would be conveyed by such a term as "dollar receipts" or "dollar income." The worker in a munitions factory receives the same kind of "dollars," and often more of them, than he formerly did producing useful goods. Clearly, if enough people are shifted from peacetime pursuits to the war effort the "dollar receipts" of the country may be increasing at the same time that its standard of living is declining.

It is important that we appreciate the difference between money income and real income. Ordinarily, by and large, a dollar of income represents an equivalent amount of goods produced. A dollar saved represents the deferred consumption of goods already in existence, not yet used up. Whoever has it is entitled to receive the goods waiting to be claimed. Now suppose that all such goods should suddenly be destroyed. The outstanding dollars would then no longer represent goods in existence; they would merely become claim checks against future production. If everyone held the same amount of dollars there would be no loss to anyone if they were all called in by the government—taxed out of existence. The loss of each person's claim check against the nation's future production would be compensated for by the equal elimination of everyone else's claims.

If wartime savings were in fact evenly divided among all, paying for the war

would present no difficulties. There would be little opposition to the government calling in—taxing—all the unspendable dollars, and using them in full payment of the war goods purchased by it. When peace came, the government would owe nothing for the war; and each citizen would begin where he had left off at the beginning of it. The anomaly of individual saving during war, a period of collective deficit, would be eliminated. As things have been and still are, it is precisely in such a time of the nation's extreme peril that money savings in greater volume than before become more than normally concentrated. In peace-time, savings represent wealth; not usually so in war. The difference is all important.

Modern war is a great destroyer. In the coming year it will consume more than half our current production. But everyone will continue to receive dollars for the full amount produced. We may have 125 billion dollars of money income; but there will be perhaps only 50 billion dollars worth of consumers' goods. Everyone who has dollars, regardless of their source, may compete for these goods, but collectively we cannot possibly buy more than the total available, no matter how many dollars we may have. For the duration, the nation must do with much less. Thus we pay for the war. There is no other way.

As to disposing of the unusable dollars, one method would be to permit a great increase of prices. A small part of the population would then acquire most of the excess money income. The result

would be that the people would have done without many things during the war, and at the end of it relatively few persons would be in possession of the "dollar savings," claim checks against the future work of all the rest of us. This is what has happened before; it can happen again, if we do not manage well. And if we do not, then this time, as before, the people will make sacrifices to win the war, and in the process contract mortgages against their future and their children's future. They would later, indeed, be paying for the war a second time.

Fortunately, we do learn, even if slowly. We shall probably avoid inflation on any large scale during the present conflict. But that alone does not yet solve everything. The government still has the fiscal problem of getting the "excess dollars" of current money income, for which there are no available consumer goods, in order to pay for the equivalent amount of war goods used up by the nation. It is of the utmost importance that this solution be sound and just, and practical, too. The solution of this problem determines not when or how, but *who* among us shall pay for the war *now*, and to what extent; and furthermore, who and to what extent shall pay for it a *second* time, and to whom. Wartime fiscal policy decides these very things. That's why a new tax bill is so important. The present Act* is inadequate.

Before going into that, it is instructive to see what happened during the last war. The following table summarizes it:

*The Revenue Act of 1942, approved Oct. 21, 1942.

World War I Financing (in billions of dollars)

Year	National Dollar Income	Total Gov't. Expenditures	Total Gov't. Receipts	Total Gov't. Borrowing
1917.....	\$ 42.5	\$ 2.0	\$ 1.1	\$.9
1918.....	51.6	12.7	3.7	9.0
1919.....	59.9	18.5	5.1	13.4
Total.....	\$154.0	\$33.2	\$ 9.9	\$23.3
Percentage of Nat'l. income...	100%	21.5%	6.5%	15.0%

It will be noticed that for the years 1917 to 1919, inclusive, government expenditures totalled 33.2 billion dollars, equal to 21½% of the total national money income. Only about a third of that amount was collected by the Treasury through taxation. The remainder was borrowed. The lenders gave up their accumulated excess dollar receipts which they had obtained from the people and in return acquired a claim against all future producers, to be paid with interest. To call the claim a "Liberty Bond," or by any other name, does not change the es-

sential fact, that the many of that period became indebted to the relatively few.

The requirements of the present struggle are so much vaster that if we follow the old pattern the consequences will be much more burdensome. The aggregate unspendable dollar receipts will be so huge that by the end of the war the nation may be saddled with an intolerable load of concentrated savings, converted into war bonds, unless we think this matter through now and act accordingly.

The following indicates the proportions of the immediate situation:

(All dollar figures are estimates in billions)

Year	National Dollar Income	Total Gov't. Expenditures	Total Gov't. Receipts	Total Gov't. Borrowing
1943.....	\$125	*\$70	\$26	\$44
Percentage of National Income.....	100%	56%	20.8%	35.2%

*Exclusive of regular non-war budget; and may easily go higher.

The first two years of this war will probably involve government expenditures of over 110 billion dollars, a truly colossal sum. That amount will roughly represent the amount of paid work done by the people of this country which went into the war effort; work for which, although the people received dollars, these had in back of them no useful wares or services; hence, unspendable dollars. If the government were to collect through taxation this entire sum, there would be no need for the nation to borrow against the future. That would be financing the war just as the nation fights and pays for it, with present resources. In principle, and as a matter of abstract logic, this result can be accomplished. To the extent that we achieved it, it would mean that the people had consumed less while working more during the war; that while others had given much more—their very lives—that decency and mercy might survive in the world, no one had acquired any new claims against the future labor of his fellow-men.

It will occur to some that this approach involves the equal division of the national income, with all the objections to such a revolutionary proposal. Nothing like that is involved. It is merely the recognition that the dollar receipts of the nation representing war goods are no real national income, but only the measure of the collective labor and sacrifice of all necessary to win the war. Hence they are not in essence the proper basis for anybody's savings. Over and above that amount, there will remain a real and substantial national income, amounting in 1943 to about fifty billion dollars, representing useful civilian goods; this is still about as much as we had during the worst depression year. In the distribution of this huge sum there is still much room for variation in the shares of each. There is still latitude for compensation according to individual ability, efficiency, and good fortune.

And yet, there do remain valid practical objections to a policy whereby the government would, through taxation, col-

lect from the people in the aggregate more than half their current money earnings. For to each of us a dollar bill in his possession still indicates something of value. It is hard for an individual to behave in accordance with statistical tables, however inevitable they are in their incidence upon the whole group. It would be most difficult for the millions of our country to understand clearly the special and limited nature of money income in a war economy. It would be too great a shock for many of them to be called upon to give to the government, as a tax, so large a part of what to each individual look like perfectly normal and good dollars. Then, too, it is desirable that after the war the masses have in their possession effective purchasing power—dollars on hand—to bridge them over to a peacetime economy. It is better that the people have with them some ready dollars, fairly distributed, to cushion the shock of temporary unemployment when war work suddenly ends, than to rely on "the natural laws of economics" or even Congress to help them at that time.

It becomes a matter of reconciling what may be logically sound with what is practically best in a less than perfect world. The accompanying table roughly indicates what the writer considers to be a feasible plan of financing the war. It is not intended to be an absolute guide. It does, however, suggest the outlines of what is to be achieved. The actual figures may become considerably different, even in 1943; that would not affect the basic policy implicit in these suggestions.

(All amounts are estimates in billions)

DISTRIBUTION OF NATIONAL PRODUCTION IN 1943

Civilian consumer goods and services	\$ 50.
Civilian capital goods.....	5.
War effort, including lend-lease....	70.
TOTAL.....	\$125.

RECOMMENDED GOVERNMENT FINANCING IN 1943

(Based on Above*)

Income taxes, including "Victory Taxes," to be refunded after the war	\$ 42.
Excise taxes, Soc. Sec. and miscellaneous receipts	6.
Borrowing:	
Non-banking sources	\$12.
Banking sources	10. 22.
TOTAL.....	\$ 70.

*Which does not include the government's non-war needs.

Current estimates for total government expenditures in 1943 are in excess of the above total of 70 billion dollars. These higher estimates may prove unrealizable, unless we increase our working manpower considerably faster than our armed forces, and in addition, drastically curtail present production of consumer goods. Whatever the final figures, the nature of the problem will remain substantially the same.

The present revenue laws are expected to yield in 1943 from all sources about 26 billion dollars; of that it is estimated that ten billion will come from income taxes against corporations. This amount could well be increased by another billion or two. The greatest increase must come out of additional taxes against individuals, preferably through a combination of further outright income taxes, withholding taxes (to be at least in part repaid after the war), and enforced savings. The group with incomes of over \$10,000 a year will account for about one-sixth of the total national income. It would seem that from this group of our population there should be raised about eight billion dollars. Those earning less than \$1750.00 a year will account in the aggregate for another sixth of the national income in 1943. At the most only a billion or two can come from this section of the nation; those in this group have too little

to start with. There remain those in the largest class, with incomes from \$1750.00 to \$10,000.00 a year, accounting for two-thirds of the total income of the country. It is upon these individuals that we have to rely for the proposed balance of about 20 billion dollars in both outright and partly refundable taxes, equal to about a fourth of their total income. It is a large assessment; but many among them would necessarily still remain with a considerably larger money income than there would be available goods on the market. Altogether, the Treasury would receive in 1943 about 42 billion dollars out of the various types of income taxes. Excise and all other taxes can feasibly bring in about 6 billion more. On a basis of about 70 billion dollars of federal expenditures we would then be raising from taxation about two-thirds of the money required. Truly a huge sum, but actually less than needed, and no greater than is practicable. Let us remember that England, a poorer country than ours even on a per capita basis, is already raising through taxation half its budget needs.

The exact tax rates in the different brackets, within the larger divisions, necessary to produce the totals suggested, are a simple matter of calculation for the Treasury experts. Clearly, it involves also a question of policy: for example, the present Victory Tax on all incomes above \$12.00 a week ought to be increased—perhaps doubled—a large part of it to be

returned after the war. To that extent it is not a tax at all. This money would then be well distributed among the entire population, and very useful to bridge the gap between war and peace. To the extent that receipts are increased through Victory Taxes, the outright income levies can be reduced. The Treasury would still need 22 billion dollars to meet the projected total. That would have to be borrowed: probably about 12 billion dollars invested in War Bonds by the public; and the balance of about 10 billion borrowed from commercial banks, the last source to be approached, as everyone agrees.

One concludes by repeating that nothing can change the necessity of a nation having to pay for a war while it fights it. Certainly no tax system can undo the destruction of war. But proper taxation policy can minimize unnecessary and additional post-war sacrifices on the part of the great body of our citizens, resulting from ill-conceived financial policies. There will, of course, always be many cases of unusual individual hardship. No tax system can be perfect. But whatever the cost, we know the price is not too high. We are fighting to preserve our national existence and individual freedoms. Remembering that, let us accept our temporary economic sacrifices cheerfully, with a sense of great privilege and even greater humility. Others, millions of others, are giving far more for Victory.



The Student

TODROS GELLER

The Jew In Medicine

By DR. MAX THOREK

UNFORTUNATELY, facts and reason alone are not sufficient weapons with which to combat either the evil intent or the more hurtful consequences of prejudice. If they were, the only answer that would be necessary to the irresponsible accusation that the Jew has crowded the profession of medicine would be a circumstantial presentation of the facts. The first and most important of these is that it is absurd to say of the Jew that he crowds a profession that is now, and always has been, undermanned. That is to say, even if all the doctors in the world were Jews, there would still not be enough of them to take care satisfactorily of the medical needs of mankind. We actually need more doctors, Jewish or others, and as long as this situation obtains, there can be no basis for the accusation against the Jew that he crowds the medical profession.

But those who are guilty of anti-semitism are never concerned with truth, and the fact that the Jew has made his mark in medicine lends itself to their vicious attack. In good times and bad, often despite difficult obstacles, the Jew has devoted himself to the science of healing, and this without thought of whom his efforts would benefit. For the zeal of the Jewish doctor for his profession has caused him to heal his enemies as well as his friends, and often he has kept alive men whose death would serve the Jewish cause and doubtless benefit the entire human race.

This zeal on the part of the Jew for the science of medicine goes back far into the early history of man. More than 3000 years ago, when Moses came to prepare his Law in the wilderness, he propounded

a series of edicts and admonitions which even in modern times would constitute a distinct contribution to what is termed "preventive medicine." Indeed, so advanced and effective were his admonitions regarding personal cleanliness and social protection from disease that during the great epidemics that swept over Europe in the Middle Ages, the fact that the followers of Moses did not suffer in proportion to the rest of the population caused them to be accused of having actually brought on the devastating plagues by poisoning the wells and by various other means.

The reason for this comparative freedom from disease on the part of the Jews was that in their hygienic laws no important detail was overlooked. Most people, when their attention is called to the hygienic laws of Moses, think only of his admonitions regarding diet, especially with reference to the mixing of meat and milk. But there were other provisions in these laws that were equally, if not more, important. Take, for example, the provisions requiring that cups, pots, and other utensils be kept scrupulously clean; or those requiring that food and water be covered in order to protect them from contamination; or those requiring that any article suspected of being tainted be carried beyond the community for disposal, with the added provision that the carrier disinfect himself by bathing in running water. The Mosaic Law contains many rules for the diligent and frequent washing of hands, especially before touching food. It provides also that all persons infected by contagious disease be isolated from their families, and that dwellings, if too much contaminated, be

destroyed. It contains specific instructions regarding the bed-linens, clothing, draperies, and other objects that a sick person might have handled, even to the point where, if they could not be sufficiently purified by washing, they were to be subjected to fire—the one absolute disinfectant.

As for the dietary admonitions of the Mosaic Law, our own government regulations regarding meats are less thoroughgoing than were those of the Jewish ritual. Not only trichinosis but other diseases are known to be traceable to the foods which are taboo in the dietary list of the Jews. It is thought, for example, that there would be fewer cases designated as "ptomaine poisoning" if the ancient law regulating the consumption of shell foods were heeded.

Aside from the wise precautions that the Old Testament and Talmud offer with respect to food and the care of the sick, many of their ethical admonitions regarding the purity of the individual, the sanctity of the home, and the safeguarding of women—particularly with respect to the function of motherhood—have a distinct bearing on the health of the community. So, too, have the admonitions regarding rest, recreation, and social justice. For these are designed to foster the physical well-being, not only of the individual, but of the community at large.

The "aseptic method" of modern surgery (with its emphasis upon the preparation—or "scrubbing up"—of those in attendance during an operation, and the use of disinfectants, and the boiling of instruments) was introduced toward the end of the nineteenth century, and was regarded at that time as a modern discovery. Yet, this may be considered but an extension of the old Jewish admonition of "diligent washing."

One of my reasons for calling the reader's attention to these familiar facts about the Mosaic Law is to indicate the early Jewish interest in what may be called ad-

vanced medical ideas. But another and more important reason is to remind the reader that these medical ideas, because they were part of the fundamental Holy Law, engaged the close attention of the Talmudic commentators, with the result that the Jewish Talmud contains a vast body of wise and learned discussions relating to medical science, and treats quite expertly of such subjects, for example, as anatomy and physiology and embryology, among many others. Indeed, for a long period, long before the dawn of the Christian era, medical teaching was part of the curriculum in the schools of the rabbis, so that, apart from their knowledge of the Mosaic Laws of hygiene, the Jewish rabbis were men well grounded in all the learning of the age concerning disease and the value of many drugs, and were generally regarded, by non-Jews as well as Jews, as the best qualified physicians of their time.

During the early Christian era and in the Middle Ages medical science made very little progress. However, some light did filter through to Europe from the Orient, and the Jews were in great measure responsible for this also. For, apart from their own contributions, they served as translators and interpreters of such scientific learning as developed in Turkey and Persia and Egypt. Indeed, some of the contributions made in these countries, notably on dietary subjects and in ophthalmology, were also made by Jewish physicians who dwelt there.

The most notable contribution made by a Jew to the science of medicine in the Middle Ages was, of course, that of the great doctor, philosopher, and rabbi, Moses Ben Maimum, or Maimonides, who lived in Cordova during the latter twelfth century. Maimonides was considered one of the outstanding philosophers of his day, but he was also a great physician. He wrote and lectured frequently on medical subjects, and produced at least one very learned medical work entitled *Poisons*

and Their Cure. Among his many contributions to medical science is the very "modern" thought that the reciprocal relation between body and spirit is so great that any disturbance of the spiritual powers is bound to affect the health of the individual. Maimonides is believed also to have been the author of the "Physician's Prayer," considered second only in importance to the famous "Oath of Hippocrates."

During the Middle Ages, when in certain countries Jews were barred from the so-called learned callings, Jewish students obtained the scant medical knowledge of the times under private tutors or from rabbis in Jewish schools. Only on rare occasions was a Jew admitted to a university, for these were all under the clerical direction of the church. Yet, despite these difficulties, and the edicts that Christians should not employ Jewish doctors, Jews were much in demand as physicians, and were frequently called upon to attend emperors, kings, and other important personages, and even many high dignitaries of the church. Indeed, so influential did some of these Jewish physicians become, and so learned were they in other matters than medicine, that they frequently served as advisers to heads of states and to others of high rank, and were often their councillors at court.

What is more, despite the fact that Jews were barred from attending the universities as students, they were employed in the famous medical schools of Salerno and Montpellier as teachers of medicine, which attests, considering the eminence of these two great universities, to the zeal of the Jew for scientific learning, and especially for the science of medicine.

With the great revival of learning called the Renaissance, medicine made swift progress. To be sure, not even the Renaissance caused the restrictions against the Jewish student to be lifted entirely. Yet, during the great awakening that took place in the fifteenth and sixteenth cen-

turies, we hear of great Jewish doctors all over Europe. However, it was not until the ghetto was at last destroyed and almost all restrictions against Jewish students were finally removed that the Jew came into his own as a medical man.

With such a background as has been here indicated, it can well be understood how zealously the Jew applied himself to his new opportunities to enrich the science of healing. Once the bars had been let down, Jewish students naturally flocked to the medical schools. But the Jewish contribution consists of something more than the number of doctors thus produced. The Jew seldom enters medicine merely because it happens to be one of the respected professions. He undertakes the study of medicine because he loves it. He loves it because, as we have seen, it seems to be in his blood. Certainly it is an important part of his long and honored tradition. When he leaves the medical school, whether he goes into general practice or into research, he devotes himself to the problem of healing or of preventing disease with ardor and enthusiasm. In consequence, many Jewish doctors have become leaders in their profession, and some of the best known institutions for medical research and experimentation have been under Jewish leadership: the Pasteur Institute of Paris, under Metchnikoff; the Frankfort Institute, under Paul Ehrlich; the Institute of Experimental Therapeutics, under Doherty; the experimental laboratory of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin, under Wassermann; the Rockefeller Institute in New York, under Flexner; and, of course, many others.

It is impossible to evaluate fully the contribution to medicine that has resulted from the labors of Jewish healers. Scattered as they have been through all countries, often forced to change their names and deny their origin in order to protect themselves, and—what is more important—in order to carry on their

precious work, much that they have accomplished has been credited to the countries in which they dwelt. This, indeed, in a normal world, is precisely as it should be. For, just as the Jewish doctor heals without taking thought of discrimination as to the object of his ministrations, so he has no interest in taking credit for his efforts as a Jew. Often he has no interest in taking credit for his efforts at all, but it does seem ironic that the fame of Germany as a center of medical learning should be due in great part to the contributions of her Jewish doctors.

The great German physician, Dr. Rudolph Virchow, founder of the doctrine of cellular pathology, in speaking of "The Jew in Medicine," says:

Among other things were discovered Hebrew manuscripts from which we learn how eager and how scholarly were Jewish doctors of the Middle Ages toward the maintaining and improving of medicine. We may say we can trace back to this time the inherited abilities of the Jews, which abilities did so much for medicine.

On the same subject a letter written in 1884 by Sir William Osler one of the great leaders in medical thought, would seem to be prophetic:

Should another Moses arise and preach a Semitic exodus from Germany, and should he prevail, they would leave the land impoverished far more than was ancient Egypt by the loss of 'jewels of gold and jewels of silver' of which the people were 'spoiled.' To say nothing of the material wealth . . . there is not a profession that would not suffer serious loss of many of its most brilliant ornaments, and in none more so than in our own. I hope to get the exact number of professors of Hebrew extraction in the German medical faculties. The number is very great, and of those I know, their positions have been won by hard and honorable work. . . . All honor to them.

In another place, in *Israel and Medicine*, Osler, in discussing the remarkable outburst of scientific activity witnessed in Germany, particularly in the last half

of the nineteenth century, lists the following Jewish leaders:

Traube, who well may be called the father of experimental pathology; Henle, the distinguished anatomist and pathologist; Valentin, the physiologist; Lebert, Remark, Romberg, Ebstein, Hensch . . . clinical physicians of the very first rank. Conheim, who was the most brilliant pathologist of his day; Weigert, to whom pathological histology owes an enormous debt; and to crown all, the man whose ideas have revolutionized modern pathology, Paul Ehrlich. . . . In America, Hebrew members of our profession have for many years occupied a very prominent position. The father of the profession today, a man universally loved, is Abraham Jacobi, full of years and honors; and the two most brilliant representatives in physiology and pathology, Simon Flexner and Jacques Loeb, carry out the splendid traditions of Traube and Henle.

Osler was not alone in recognizing the Jewish contribution to medicine. The literature on this subject is very extensive. Such writers as John Foster Fraser, Julius Preuss, S. Kraus, Max Newberger, Fielding H. Garrison, Solomon Kagan, Abraham Levinson, Charles J. Brim, and many others afford convincing evidence of both the extent and the importance of this contribution. It would be interesting, of course, to examine what these writers have written about the Jew in medicine. It would be interesting and vastly enlightening. But such an examination would lead me far afield. My chief purpose here is not to prove the value of the Jewish contribution, nor its extent. My chief purpose was to indicate how it happened that this contribution came into being. . . . It springs definitely from the Jewish heritage, from the Jewish ritual, from the Jewish Law. Whatever other values may be inherent in the Jewish tradition—and there are many—it should be remembered that the Jewish doctor is what he is primarily because of that tradition. He is, in other words, not merely a doctor who happens to be a Jew. He is a doctor because he is a Jew.

Israel's Educational Ideal

By ISADORE KEYFITZ

THIS IS AN AGE of science—of scientific method, not only in the laboratory, but in all branches of scholarly research. Men no longer dig into the past in pursuit of information regarding our origins, or the origins of modern practices and values, armed only with imagination and preconceptions. They seek facts. They seek these facts with cool, calm objectivity, and with complete indifference as to the consequences of their discoveries. And no doubt these methods have enriched our fund of knowledge and unburdened our minds. Research that is embarked upon with definite preconceptions, prejudiced with the desire to find only what is already believed—Nazi research, that is—distorts the facts, confuses the mind, and endangers progress.

All scholars have come to recognize this, with the result that the present age has, by virtue of its devotion to the scientific method, destroyed many old theories and given us a clearer insight into our origins and the origins of many of our values.

It is, therefore, surprising to observe that, despite the supposed utilization of the scientific method with respect to problems of education, so much recent work in this field omits almost entirely a consideration of the Jewish contribution to education. Our libraries contain many works on the history of education. But most of these still adhere to the traditional, pre-scientific theories which trace the origins of modern educational ideals purely to our great Hellenic heritage. Now, there is no denying the Hellenic influence. The ancient Greeks have conditioned our civilization and our culture to

a very considerable degree. But is it possible that the Jews have exerted no influence whatever here? Or is it possible that, even if they did not exert such an influence, their educational methods and purposes are so lacking in interest that they deserve no consideration as a matter of scholarly curiosity? Or—what is more disquieting—is it possible that the ancient Jews had no educational ideals, and offer nothing to the scholar who tries to discover them?

We who are Jews know, of course, that this last, at least, is not so. And most certainly every non-Jewish scholar knows it as well. We are the people of the Book. We are not merely the people described in the Book. We produced the Book, and have always been devoted to it. It is clear, therefore, that such a people must always have been deeply concerned with the problems of education.

As a matter of fact, our contribution to modern culture goes back to a period beyond the Bible. There are some, indeed, who insist that any consideration of the origin of the art of writing itself must necessarily include a study of early Jewish history. Thus, while it cannot be claimed with certainty that the Jews actually introduced the alphabet, it must at least be noted that the Western alphabet did originate in Palestine, and that our early ancestors may have had a hand in its discovery. Greek tradition refers to Cadmus, a Phoenician Semite, as the transmitter of the alphabet which became the form of writing among Greeks, Etruscans, Romans, Slavs, and the rest of the Western world. In the light of modern research, however, the origin of the alpha-

bet must be traced to the extreme south of Palestine, a region inhabited by a population which was later absorbed in the commonwealth of Israel. If this is true, the Western world is indebted to Israel for a basic ingredient of its culture.

There are, of course, many other instances where the Jewish element became a cardinal factor in the development of modern culture. In literature alone, style, rhythm, imagery, as well as numberless concepts and ideas, grew out of Israel's creative mind and became the heritage of Western man. To emphasize this fact does not in any way detract from the contribution of the Greeks; but to ignore it, or to deny it, is simply unscientific. The same may be said for our modern political ideals, especially our concept of democracy. The tendency is to look exclusively to the Hellenic world for our political origins without regard to the tremendous influence that Biblical study, especially during and immediately following the Reformation, must have exerted upon the minds of men who became newly aware of an ancient political organization in which, because all men were considered equal in the sight of the Lord, even the poor and the lowly were given a voice in its government. "Take you wise men, and understanding, and I will make them rulers over you." . . . That is, select your own representatives, your own assembly, your own congregation, and they will govern you. . . . Nor did the Jews fail to implement this order. For a long while—and long before it was so in ancient Greece—the Jewish political organization did consist of a Chief Executive or Shophete, a Senate or Sanhedrim, and an Assembly or a Congregation drawn from "all Israel." And "all Israel" meant to the Jews just that and not merely a small portion of the inhabitants such as comprised the voting population of ancient Athens.

But our chief concern here is the story of education, of Jewish education as a

means of promulgating these and other values among the Jews, and of the effect of this education upon educational methods in the rest of the world.

The purpose of education in Israel was, we may be sure, chiefly to preserve religious and historical knowledge, to the end that the nation might survive and prosper. To survive is the aim of every people. But the Jews were not satisfied merely with survival. They were actuated by a zealous mission—to carry their prophetic ideals into the world and to satisfy man's thirst for the knowledge of God. They were actuated also by the conviction that the only hope for mankind was to learn "to follow his ways and walk in his paths, for the Law is to issue out of Zion and the word of the Lord out of Jerusalem." It was this religious character of Hebrew culture that gave an urge and a binding sanction to the preservation of the sacred treasures through education. The fundamental belief in the revelation of God to Israel imposed upon the people the responsibility of making this revelation an integral part of their national life and discipline, and, above all, to carry this truth to the ends of the world. For this reason mere physical survival could not possibly content the Jew. The *reason* for that survival was always uppermost in his mind. And that reason, that purpose, that mission, was such that it imposed upon him the necessity to further his own education and the education of his children.

The means by which these ends were accomplished naturally underwent change and development. As is to be expected, the earliest records extant seem to indicate a concentration upon the problems of survival—survival of the individual as a member of the community, and survival of the whole people as a nation. This task could be accomplished in only one way—by the education of the young in the traditions and the experiences of their fathers.

In the early days this information was best transmitted by the erection of public monuments, which were to stand as glorious symbols of the actual events. Then there emerged in the Jewish homes a whole set of forms and practices which were intended to commemorate the heroes and benefactors of Israel. And since the substratum of thought, both historical and contemporary, was essentially religious, these reminiscences would be expressed in religious terms. Thus, such phrases as "the Knowledge of God" and the "Word of God" became identical with the whole content of education.

When the day arrived that writing became the possession of the Hebrew people and records began to accumulate in various parts of Palestine, the Bible itself began to emerge. Very soon it came to be looked upon as the source of all knowledge, and its preservation became a national task. But these sacred writings could not contain all the knowledge extant at the time, and there grew up a large body of "oral" tradition which was handed down from generation to generation, and found its way even into post-Biblical records. As a result, there evolved in Israel a tremendous volume of knowledge whose mastery was considered basic for national preservation, and whose transmission to posterity, and to the rest of mankind, became a religious obligation.

Unfortunately, such records as have come down to us are insufficient for the formation of a precise conception of the institutions of learning that must have existed in ancient Israel. That such institutions did exist there can be no doubt. For the learning was very great and extensive. To be sure, the two institutions about which we do know, the synagogue and the school, may have been the only such institutions they possessed. If so, they are both older than they are generally thought to be. The synagogue is usually believed to have originated during the Babylonian Exile, when the Jew-

ish community, under the guidance of Ezekiel, found a substitute for the Temple. If this is true, it would account for Jewish learning during and since the Exile, but not before—unless it may be said that the practices of the synagogue were modeled after practices in the Temple about which little or nothing is known. Be that as it may, we do know that the synagogue became the institution in which the newly adopted Sabbath was spent in worship and contemplation—and in the study and exposition of the Law. This played no small part in the educational process. Upon the return to Palestine, the synagogue was transplanted there, and to other parts of the Diaspora, and became the institution destined to serve the cultural needs of the Jews in all parts of the dispersion.

The synagogue became also the model for the institutional form which the Christian Church was later to assume, as well as the pattern for the religious organization of the Mohammedans. Thus its influence became widespread and covered a great portion of the world. For it must be remembered that with the birth of these two religions, Christianity and Mohammedanism, both of which sprang from Judaism, much of the legacy that was Israel's, until then confined to a small portion of the world's population, was carried far into Europe and Africa and Asia, so that now it is the possession of almost a billion people.

The school likewise originated in a very remote and obscure period. Its influence became apparent during the Second Temple period, when Jewish religion and learning were even more thoroughly democratized than they had been before and became the responsibility of every Jew. Indeed, both of these institutions relate closely with the manifestations of developing democratic impulses among the Jews. The Jewish Commonwealth was, as we have seen, governed frequently, if not always, according to demo-

cratic principles. One of the important indications of this was the Jewish attempt to separate church and state by confining all priestly duties to those who were of the tribe of Levites, a tribe that was separated from the other tribes of Israel, while the general government was conducted by the representatives of all the tribes. It should be observed also that members of the priestly tribe were almost never elected to a position of eminence in the government. During the Babylonian Exile, however, it was doubtless felt that a nation so strongly religious in character should not permit control of its religious education to be confined exclusively to the priestly class. Exile and the possibility of dispersion made the danger of this practice especially clear. Hence, the rise of both the synagogue and the school, as we know them, both of which have always been controlled by the people without class or tribal distinction.

The result of this increased democratization was that, through the development of these two institutions, our ancestors provided for the spiritual needs which the Jew was to carry with him into the Diaspora and at the same time evolved a unique system of universal education. The Jewish school and the synagogue have always been secularly controlled, as they are even today. What is more, they have been, and are, autonomously controlled. When we consider that the great struggle in education, where it has existed at all, has generally been between church and state, with little thought of autonomy until comparatively recent times, we can appreciate what these two factors, developed so early in Jewish education, really mean. And when, we consider also that the educational systems utilized later in church and mosque and

in the religious schools created by the adherents to the Christian and Moham-medan religions were directly modeled after our synagogues and schools, we can readily see how far-reaching was their influence.

To be sure, universal education did not at once become the ideal in the countries in which the new religions flourished. For the governments in these countries were not actuated by the same impulse toward education as was that of our democratic Jewish ancestors. In the Middle Ages it was not uncommon for even a king or an emperor to be unable to read or write. But even in those dark ages, such education as did exist—the only flame of enlightenment that did manage to flicker faintly in a sea of darkness—was found in those centers of the new religions that modeled some of their practices at least upon those of their own Jewish ancestors. The Greek influence did not take effect in any measurable degree until after the Renaissance. And even that great awakening was in large part due to a rediscovery of the Bible and the cultural as well as the social ideals of ancient Israel. For the Renaissance cannot be separated from the Reformation. And it was the Reformation that introduced secularly and autonomously controlled churches and schools patterned after the synagogue and the Jewish school.

Thus, the Jewish educational ideals became not only the means of national survival, which was their original intent, but a vital factor in the development of Western civilization. If, as we must believe, education can be considered instrumental in making men free, then Israel's heritage has become the torch of human freedom.

Soothsayer and Superman

By ALLEN D. SCHWARTZ

IN 1909, an American wrote: "This Republic and Japan are approaching, careless on one hand, predetermined on the other, that point of contact, which is war." Others have written similarly, then and since, but this man did not merely cry "Yellow Peril!" He actually detailed the Japanese occupation of the Philippines, prophesying thirty-three years ago that "The conquest of these islands will be less of a military undertaking than the seizure of Cuba by the United States. . . . Manila will be forced to surrender in three weeks."

He warned of a surprise attack on Hawaii. He explored two thousand miles of our West coast littoral, and reported that Washington, Oregon, and California were Japan's for the taking. He plotted maps, charts, and diagrams profusely illustrating the ease with which such an invasion could be accomplished.

But in the heyday of the Hague Court, Homer Lea was vilified and ignored, while his books were concealed in the dust of libraries. There they lay, undisturbed, for three decades. Not until Pearl Harbor was Homer Lea recalled from the dead. For the war into which the United States was precipitated brought Homer Lea from obscurity into military prominence. General Fuqua was first to revive his name, and overnight it became household property. Current interest in him ranges from astute commentaries in military journals to popular broadcasts over national networks reaching into thousands of American homes. Recently, his two neglected books,* originally published in 1909, and

1912, respectively, have been reprinted. Reading them now, one marvels at his clarity and precision, and wonders why no boulevards or bridges commemorate his name. But one remembers that Homer Lea was a hunchback, and incapacitated; that he was a general without a title; a strategist without a staff; a historian without disciples; so penetrating an analyst of the past, that what he predicted of the future was too fantastic for his contemporaries to believe. Today, there can be no dispute with Homer Lea in regard to his military conclusions. One cannot argue with headlines, nor revise the history of Bataan and Singapore written in the indelible ink of blood. Homer Lea, the military scientist, has been vindicated.

It is this very accuracy and foresight into the course of the war between the powers that has lulled both his civilian and military audience to the danger and invidiousness of his thought. For Homer Lea, the Soothsayer, is only half the man. Beneath this veneer, lurks Homer Lea, the Superman.

As Clare Boothe, one of Homer Lea's most ardent popularizers, admits in her preface:

"Had they known such words in 1909, his critics would have called Lea a Fascist and a totalitarian. In Lea's doubt that the martial spirit would ever flame in 'naturalized American,' his open bias in favor of Anglo-Saxon racial and intellectual superiority, his equally frank predictions of wars to come between the races, his definite dread of the 'Russian Octopus' whose vulnerable belly was so hard to reach beyond its icy tentacles, today's critics may still find reasons for calling him America's First Fascist."

**The Valor of Ignorance* and *The Day of the Saxon*.

Lea's concept of War, is set forth in chapter-length syllogisms which constitute the first half of *The Valor of Ignorance*. Here, as well as in the opening chapters of the second book, Lea attempts to establish a logical basis from which his military conclusions proceed. As the "touchstone" to his system, he employs the philosopher's favorite term, *Nature*, ambiguous even when defined. His is not the primitive, beneficent Nature of Rousseau, nor the just Nature of Locke and Jefferson from which Man derives his "inalienable rights," but the Nature of fang and claw, of tooth and nail, employing Big Berthas and minenwerfers. Nature is Lea's philosophic extension into social thought of Darwin's "survival of the fittest" as a permanent and unalterable axiom.

From the premise of the "naturalness" of a state of war, Lea proceeds to discuss the components of a well-prepared nation. Population is Lea's foremost consideration. With historical precedents, he warns the American government that "when a nation is composed of different peoples, its comparative stability can be said to be great or fragile as its government is in the hands of one dominant race or is diffused proportionately through the various racial and political elements that compose it."

In the same decade that Israel Zangwill was writing of the Melting Pot, when Riis, Steinmetz, and Jane Addams were blessing America as a haven for the oppressed, Homer Lea was praying "that the homogeneous element shall rule, and shall with its great iron ladle alone stir this *potpourri* of mankind and skim off the scum that rises from it." The "scum" referred to is "the lower elements of Europeans who constitute the vast majority of immigrants."

Due to them, "crime has become more multitudinous and rampant. . . . The distribution of criminality in this Republic, according to nationality, is approximately as follows: twenty-four per cent of the

prisoners are born of native white parents, while seventy-six per cent are either foreigners, born of foreign parents, or negroes." Ergo, stop immigration! Send 'em back where they came from! Deportation for these "befouled and stubby noses" was a generous policy. Hitler practices, and his American satellites advocate, sterilization of criminals.

In the five years between the publication of his two books, Homer Lea underwent a change of heart. Where formerly purity of race was a genetic formula productive of the best soldiers for War, in *The Day of the Saxon*, War became the prerogative and proper employment of a Master Race. The book is a blueprint for preserving 'the Saxon and His Empire' (as the first chapter is typically entitled) from "the glory that was Greece, and the grandeur that was Rome." "The Saxon has marked around this earth, as has no other race before him, the scarlet circle of his power . . . made possible only by his heroism and racial fealty." Now the Saxon has become corpulent with wealth, decadent with democracy, disintegrant with self-government.

The greatest crime of an Empire is to permit its members political autonomy. "A confederacy is an old ignorance. It is a falsification of political independence." In Lea's estimation, granting dominion status to Canada was folly; not to execute Gandhi and Nehru would be imperial suicide. What self-government is to the Saxon empire, democracy is to our (formerly) Saxon republic. The "natural" ignorance of the mob-mind prohibits it from ever pursuing a course advantageous to the state. "As the number of the individuals who are in control of national affairs increases, there is a concomitant decrease of intelligence, until finally the whole nation is floundering about in the wide, shallow slough of mediocrity." What our Constitution would have been like had Homer Lea written it we can well imagine from the following: "Five wise men can better direct, and to superior

greatness, the destiny of a nation than can fifty million of men possessed of similar wisdom." And if a quinvirate should have proved too unwieldy an executive, legislative, and judiciary body, Homer Lea would not have had any qualms in instituting a dictator. Lea's dread of the electoral populace is premised on their heterogeneity. "Ninety-four per cent of the European immigrants [congenital criminals] settle in those very states, the Eastern and Northern, where is held the balance of political power."

For all of Lea's claim to objectivity and science, his philosophic cards were stacked. He never falsified a conclusion; he never had to. But his major and minor premises seldom bear scrutiny. Lea could rant of immigrant criminals and tenement rabble, but despite his love for "natural" laws he never found a cause and effect relationship between the terms "tenement," and "criminal."

After his assumption of Fascist postulates, it is not surprising to find Lea carrying his case to its logical conclusions. In the chapter on national riches, in which Lea perceives "how futile it is to consider wealth in the remotest degree a factor of military prowess," the syllogism is subtly confused with anti-semitism. "Belief in the potency of gold is not new; it's as old as the Jew, and prevails wherever wealth constitutes power."

The innocent simile "old as the Jews" assumes sinister proportions when analyzed in its proper logical form:

Belief in the potency of gold is old.

The Jew is old.

Therefore, Belief in the potency of gold is the Jew, (or, a Jewish trait.)

Furthermore:

Gold constitutes wealth.

Wealth constitutes power in civil life.

Gold, (or the Jew; cf. above proposition) constitutes power in civil life.

One final quotation will suffice: "National opulence is a source of danger instead of power, for the arrogance that comes of it is only Hebraic, hence trade, ducats, and mortgages are regarded as far greater assets and sources of power than armies or navies." The indirect aspersions are more insidious than an outright Nuremberg ukase. They are difficult to ferret out, for they are enmeshed throughout the book in implication and coloring.

Clare Boothe calls it a "compliment" to Homer Lea that twenty-odd years after the publication of *The Valor of Ignorance*, "a man called Adolf Hitler . . . cribbed several paragraphs on the apparent inability of the democratic form of government to defend itself in time, and inserted them into a book which he was writing in jail called, *Mein Kampf*."

If the General Staff of the Allies have learned much from Homer Lea, let us anti-Fascists do him honor as a military genius. But we should remember that we have also appropriated many tactics of modern warfare from the Nazi. In so doing, it has not been necessary to import their racial theosophy as a concomitant.

The American Jew

By BENJAMIN WEINTROUB

THE CALAMITY that is Hitler and the catastrophe that is World War II is making for re-examination of values long ago accepted as stable and permanent. Democracy, for instance, which was thought a dynamic force for the spread of civilization, is now challenged as a deterrent to human progress. Individualism is asked to subordinate all for the benefit of the state, and the status of the church is degraded on the ground that its teachings are false, and its premises rooted in an ideology detrimental to man.

The annals of history afforded few instances that parallel the Nazis' treatment of the Jew. There are concentration camps and countless graves that contain the records of their bestiality; and, where unclean hands cannot reach to maim and mutilate, the false charge is made that the Jew is a menace to mankind. America, is but one of the lands that afforded Hitler opportunities to injure the Jew. And though protected by a Constitution against infringement of his liberties, the Jew in the United States is nevertheless smarting under the impact of a concerted effort by his enemies, foreign and native, to deprive him of the benefits of the Bill of Rights.

In the United States the debate regarding the position of the Jew in an untolitarian world, as a result of Hitler's offensive has been the subject of discussion both in the pulp magazines and in the liberal press; *The New Republic*, *The Nation*, *Harper's*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *Liberty Magazine*, and *The Saturday Evening Post* have devoted long and spirited articles to the study of anti-semitism. While the writers seldom agreed on the degree

of anti-semitism in this country, all, nevertheless, conceded its prevalence. The American Jew, it was pointed out, is in danger, and measures of both a therapeutic and surgical nature were advocated.

All that a composite portrait of the Jew in America may encompass is the preview of this volume.* There is a review of his historical background; of Jewish religion as a factor of cohesiveness; the economic trends as they affect the Jew; the part the American Jew is playing in meeting obligations to fellow Jews here and abroad; the role of Zionism as a means of integrating the various layers of Jewish society toward a common end; and there is something of the structure of the Jewish communities in the United States. There is an almost microscopic examination of the charges flung against the Jew because of his alleged dual loyalties, and monopoly of certain professions and trades; there is, too, an intense study of the Jewish cultural scene. Inevitably, the book contains a full discussion of anti-semitism. Fifteen writers, each an expert in his respective field, collaborated on the book. The Hadassa organizations sponsored the volume.

A reader, unfamiliar with the saga of Jewry will learn that it was first the Sephardic, then the German, and finally the Eastern Jew whose religious tenets moulded the complex of American Israel; that from colonial days the Jewish religion was the force that made for the spiritual preservation of separateness of

* *The American Jew—A Composite Portrait*. Edited by Oscar J. Janowsky. Harper & Brothers. 322 pp. \$2.50.

the Jew among the elements that peopled this continent. And that separateness was determined by mere allegiance to an institution, the synagogue. Compliance with the simple ritual demanded by the elders of the prayer-house sufficed to hold the pioneer and his family in the faith of his fathers. It was thus throughout the whole course of American Jewish-History, until the emergence of the concept of Zionism as another powerful appeal for a United Jewry. No other force but that exemplified by the house of worship prevented the extinction of the Jew. For decades, often, the early synagogue persisted without a rabbi and with but a *chasan* to utter the simplest of prayers before a congregation that understood but vaguely an exposition in Hebrew of Jewish dogmas. The Spanish Jew clashed with the German's notions upon innovations in ritual practices, and both fought the Russian, Polish, and Galician Jewries' interpretation of religious observances,—but Jews they remained, nevertheless.

An astonishing and a disturbing phenomenon is remarked throughout the volume: nearly five million in number (4,776,000 according to the census of 1936), it is seldom that the American Jew could point to more than ten per cent of Jewry in this country as identified with religious, social, or fraternal organizations.

A number of reasons are advanced for the indifference of the Jew, as a mass, to institutional Judaism; to some commentators the cause lies in the failure to impart a Jewish education to the young; to others, the failure is due to the assimilating influences of a democratic country that obscures the necessity of identification with a religious group. Tolerance breeds passive acceptance of predominating patterns of conduct, and since religiosity is not imposed upon Americans, and the Jew has seldom been forcibly reminded of his religion, his interest in practicing Jewishness is on the whole lukewarm.

A Jewish problem, in a malignant

sense, appeared in this country after the First World War. Until then, with the emergence of anti-liberal forces and their concentrated campaigns against the Jew, the concern of the Jew was his adjustment to his new environment. The tremendous waves of immigration occasioned by the Russian pogroms of 1883 and 1903 brought to the United States hundreds of thousands of Jews. These by the sheer weight of numbers helped change the portrait of the American Jew; the orthodox, rather than the Germanized or reform version of religion practices began to predominate, and the tragic plight of thousands of new immigrants who failed to earn a livelihood compelled attention of the well-to-do in American Jewry to their destitute coreligionists. Alongside the synagogue there arose Jewish philanthropical institutions expressing Jewish collective responsibility. To begin with these were charitable only, but they nevertheless laid the foundation of Jewish unity in the American environment. Anti-semitism later strengthened this unity, and Zionism demonstrated to the American Jew the need for a united front to fight a common enemy.

The American anti-semitite apes the technique of the Berlin butchers; the exploded lie known as the Protocols of Zion is repeated; the incompatibility of dual loyalties is charged; it is alleged that the Jew is primarily a middle-man, that he infests but certain professions; and, finally the integrity of the Jew as an American citizen is challenged.

The book affords detailed and able refutation of these indictments. No so-called double loyalty, maintain the authors of *The American Jew*, may be inferred from the love of the Jew for a culture that has persisted for countless generations. Rather its cultivation and the preservation of its folklore enriches American culture. From the time of the American revolution to this day a glorious record of patriotism marks the unswerving devotion of Jews to American ideals. In war and

in peace the Jew has been foremost in the practice of solidarity with his land of birth or adoption.

That Jews crowd to the cities, the writers declare, is a problem of general adjustment, and due to unhealthy conditions that exist in any society without a planned economy; trained and seasoned hands—native Americans—are abandoning the farm for the city. To refute the charge that Jews shun hard labor, the writers point to the garment and textile industries that employ hundreds of thousands of Jews. Incidentally, it was due to the stubbornness of purpose and extraordinary organizing abilities of the Jews that there was created one of the most powerful labor unions in the country, the United Garment Workers.

Long before the Nazi plague struck the Jew, Zionism passed from the emotional to the practical political stage. Shmarya Levin, Chaim Weizmann and, finally Justice Brandeis electrified the American Jewry with the prospect of building a Jewish homeland. At the peace table, after the World War I, the ablest American Jews—among these, the non-Zionist Louis Marshall—fought for the promulgation of the Balfour Declaration because Palestine would be of immeasurable benefit to the status of the Jew the world over. Hitler proved it to be such; as a place of refuge Palestine was to receive thousands of Nazi victims.

No panaceas that would make for the unquestioned security of the Jew in the United States are offered by the authors. The future of the Jew in America, as elsewhere, depends upon the victory of

democracy. With democracy beaten by the forces of darkness the Jew will perish. The triumph of righteousness connotes the survival of the Jew.

The intellectual maturity of the Jew in America is manifested by the number and the caliber of writers who depict the American-Jewish scene. Already in the realm of literature the Jew is an impressive figure. It is rather astonishing, however, to note that among the names of the most outstanding writers on the American Jew and his world, that of Louis Zara is not mentioned. A man of his stature and literary achievements deserves recognition wherever American Jewish writers are listed. Zara's *Blessed is the Man* (1935) is one of the best sagas of the Jewish pioneer in this country.

The book is well planned and its defects are largely due to its authors' inability to compress into so small a volume all that the subject demands. The book, however, leaves a number of questions unanswered. I have yet to discover why, in spite of the virulence of anti-semitism and the ideological appeal of Zionism, but a relatively small portion of American Jewry take an interest in either. Again in the chapter on Jewish education, despite a cautious and careful scrutiny of the problem, suggestions for improvement lack vigor.

The American Jew is a timely volume, one indispensable to those who think in terms of the common good and the future of American Jewry. Easy to read, informative, it gives in the main, a comprehensive grasp of the problems that face the Jews and something of their possible solution.

BOOKS

The Jews in Spain, by Abraham A. Neuman. The Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1942. 2 vols. \$5.00.

"In these days," observes Dr. Abraham A. Neuman, "when the ghosts of mediaevalism have been fantastically brought to life in Germany and in other countries under her baneful influence, the story of Jewish life in Spain during the Middle Ages takes on startling timeliness." He points out the striking and tragic parallel in the fate of the proud German and Spanish Jewries. However it was not the author's purpose to refurbish the oft-told history of Jewish progress in medieval Spain, but to open up fresh vistas of study in the institutional framework of the amazingly complex *Kahal*, the state within a state ruled by Jewish law and cultural traditions. He tells the story of the everyday life of this community organization rather than the sporadic and sensational persecutions which tormented its people. Discarding the usual narrative method, Professor Neuman presents a topical study of various aspects of Jewish life in Spain, the religious and cultural ideals of the community, the economic structure, popular customs, the school system, charities, and social relations with the outside world.

The general picture given of the Jews in Spain is of a highly-literate, imaginative, and prosperous community, whose power and cohesiveness amazed both Jewish and non-Jewish communities elsewhere. After the expulsion of the Jews from England and France, the prestige of the Spanish Jewry rose higher than ever. Jewish communal courts of Spain were even empowered to apply capital punishment in criminal cases affecting Jewish defendants. Fundamentally, the authority of the Jewish community rested on the self-interest of the various Iberian kings, who regarded the far-flung Jewish enterprises as a prime source of revenue, which might be diminished by fanatical persecution. Apparently, as in England of

Magna Carta days, the Spanish Jew was entitled to a trial "by the judgment of his peers," i.e., fellow-Jews, thus protecting the goose that laid the golden eggs from popular destruction. Hence the Jews became the "King's people" with all the advantages and disadvantages that this condition entailed. An unpopular king or a regency might cost the lives and property of innumerable Jews. "Woe to the land whose king is a child!" was a phrase with a tragic significance for Jews.

Spanish Jewry was unique among its contemporaries in other countries because of the extraordinary range of its cultural and vocational interests. Not only did it include diplomats, famous physicians, merchants, financiers, skilled craftsmen, blacksmiths, farmers, and scholars of renown, but even lion-tamers! The Mediterranean world from Palestine to northwestern Africa witnessed the endless stream of enterprising Jewish merchants, of devout pilgrims, and of trusted diplomatic representatives. Jewish leadership in astronomy was attested by the popular term, "Jewish science." The community was fortunate in its brilliant and idealistic rabbinate, which included poets, philologists, and scientists. Many of the rabbis were trained in Christian as well as Hebrew theology in order to meet harassing demands for debate by suspicious Christian theologians. Learning was indeed its own reward, for the Jewish community felt that it was highly improper for anyone to become rich through the study of the Torah. Rabbis found it necessary to supplement their meager earnings by activity in other fields as well.

Neuman frankly presents as well the shortcomings of the medieval Jewish population. It did not escape the superstitious atmosphere of the age, as in the use of amulets and astrological predictions; and its harsh punishments of rebellious spirits reflected the intolerance of mediaevalism. Messianic imposters sometimes awakened a mass hysteria that required the most determined efforts by commun-

ity leaders to check. Particularly devastating to Jewish morals and security were the recurrent waves of informers and apostates who inspired assaults on both Jews and Jewish institutions. One fanatical Talmudist, Solomon B. Abraham of Montpellier, even denounced the renowned philosopher, Maimonides, as dangerously heretical and encouraged the local clergy to burn the books of the Jewish sage. The dreaded "herem," or excommunication, might turn into a weapon of intolerance in the hands of a bigoted leader. One account, described by Neuman, attributes the use of the *herem* to King Ferdinand of Aragon himself who thereby compelled certain Jews to testify against relapsed Christian converts, or Marranos. Nevertheless, the total picture is of a sober, law-abiding, and exceptionally moral community, whose standards of justice, of family sanctity, and the spirit of charity were wholly undeserving of the tragic expulsion of 1492.

Perhaps the most original of the author's contributions appears in the field of Jewish economic thought in the Middle Ages. Contrary to the impression one may obtain from the erratic, if famous, German scholar, Werner Sombart, who presents the Jew as the father of capitalism, Professor Neuman shows how similar in essential respects were the rabbinical and canonical ideals of economic life, as in the ban on usury. Even the evasions and concealments among both Christian and Jewish business men against Catholic or rabbinical economic teachings are strikingly similar. One gets the impression that if we knew more about the Jewish craftsmen's guilds and their relations to the Christian guilds, the similarity of ethical theories underlying them would be even more apparent. What a contrast to the interpretation of the Sombart school which would endow the Jew with responsibility for the invention of modern competitive ethics—or the lack of ethics! However Professor Neuman has a singularly uncontroversial spirit and prefers to allow his facts to speak for themselves rather than by name to take up the cudgels with Sombart or anyone else. The reviewer wishes that Neuman had devoted at least one explosive footnote, if not more, to the work of W. T. Walsh, in *Isabella of Spain, the last Crusader*, whose

extremely bigoted interpretation of the Jews of Spain, given in considerable detail, is accepted as history in some quarters.

Like the Jews of Germany who defended liberalism and democracy against destructive nationalism and fascism, the Spanish Jews defended the "King's law" against the disintegrating influence of feudalism and religious fanaticism. When both failed, the Christian populations too were to share the consequences of baleful reaction. For a time Spain, like modern Germany, was to witness a period of military ascendancy in the continental wars of the sixteenth century. Spain, temporarily enriched by the precious metals and labor of exploited Indians overseas, maintained for a brief era after the expulsion of the Jews the external trappings of power and greatness. But the ensuing centuries were to demonstrate that the Expulsion was a major factor in the internal bankruptcy of Spain, both economically and spiritually. Those social forces which expelled the Jews from medieval Spain and Modern Germany also dimmed the light of the human spirit elsewhere.

HARVEY WISH

Without Fame: The Romance of a Profession, by Otto Eisenschiml. Alliance Book Corporation, Chicago and New York, 1942. 368 pp. \$3.50.

Many of the best Americans were not born in America but came as immigrants from various European lands. They came often to escape political and religious persecution or to improve their economic status in a country which offered more opportunity for initiative than did the lands of their birth. They believed in the democratic ideals of Jefferson and Lincoln and sought to realize them when Americans born of a long tradition had forgotten those ideals or paid them lip service only. The democratic dream of equality and fraternity is but partly realized. That it is still a force shaping the destiny of America is considerably due to the hopeful and energetic immigrants and sons of immigrants whom American industry has used and not seldom abused.

The immigrant of today is the counterpart of the American pioneer of a hundred years ago, confronting harsh conditions with little more than courage and

his bare hands. Sometimes he has won security and became a success according to the prevailing standards. But in so doing often, too, he has lost something. He, like other men, has had to compromise and in the acquisition of money and the power which money brings to surrender a purpose dearer to him but which the conditions of modern economic life force him to forgo.

Mr. Eisenschiml is the son of a father who emigrated to America, fought in the Civil War, but later as a naturalized American citizen returned to his native Austria. There the son managed after many difficulties to secure a chemical education and came to America as to his native land to make his way. By virtue of his father's naturalization he was a citizen of the United States. But by virtue of his upbringing in Austria he was in a cultural sense an immigrant. This bi-focal point of view, so to speak, gives the story of his life unusual interest.

Mr. Eisenschiml's story is a success story after a pattern dear to the American heart. He is the poor boy who made good. He tells this story with gusto and with the particularity of detail which is the essence of a good autobiography. Many readers will enjoy the book for this quality alone. The author does not unduly stress the dangers and hardships of his work in a steel plant and later in the linseed oil industry. He was poorly paid but rose by sheer ingenuity and adaptability to be one of the outstanding industrial chemists of the Middle West. In twenty years he achieved an honorable place in a profession which did an inestimable service to American industry and which was rewarded by no more than a small income and an almost complete lack of public esteem. America honored the salesman and the promoter and it was they who made money. The hired technicians who created the industrial processes which produced wealth were ill-paid and unknown. After twenty years of this apprenticeship Mr. Eisenschiml went on his own, became a consulting chemist, and then a dealer in oils. It was as a dealer, a seller, that he won financial success, though it is only fair to say that his technical knowledge aided him in so doing and gave him an advantage over competitors less skilled.

Success and money have brought him

the leisure to pursue his Lincoln studies and make his contribution to American historical writing. Readers of Mr. Eisenschiml's books will be glad, therefore, that he has succeeded in the American scramble for wealth and so is free to gratify the curiosities of an original and an inquiring mind. Yet he is not wholly happy. Through no fault of his he had to cease to be a scientist, a creator, unless he chose to accept the hard conditions inseparable from such a lot, its servitude and its miserable pay.

Conditions of late years, especially under the stress of war, have changed somewhat from those of Mr. Eisenschiml's youth. American industry has become aware of the possibilities of science, the economies it can effect, the new processes which it can invent. Many big companies have established laboratories and hired technicians. Their status and their pay have improved somewhat. Yet they are still but hired men, less esteemed and more poorly paid than the go-getting salesman.

Mr. Eisenschiml after his first successes in business and, incidentally, as a speculator in commodities, meditates on his changed status to this effect:

"What had I done? Bought and sold commodities for myself and others for the sole purpose of profit. I had returned nothing of value to the pot. . . . My economic importance was on a par with that of a craps shooter; but evidently a craps shooter could become a man of prominence if his dice were large enough to attract attention. When, as a chemist, I had given to science a new method of analysis, to technology new processes either cheaper or better than those in practice heretofore, I had, voluntarily or otherwise, contributed a few grains of sand to that ever-growing structure called human progress. The reward had been comparative poverty and obscurity."

And again:

"Inventors were long-haired nitwits; but those who promoted their inventions were moving in the best circles. People raved about movie actors, yet not one in a thousand remembered the author of the play. It did not pay to be on the creative side of things, financially, socially or otherwise. Salesmen, bridge-players, jockeys, dancing mas-

ters, fine citizens all, no doubt, but contributing nothing constructive to the community at large, were feted in public; but no one knew or cared who had discovered aspirin, synthetic plastics or concrete."

At the moment chemists and other scientists are vital to the success of the war effort; they are being drafted into industry and government bureaus. But what will be their status when the emergency is over? Will it be improved? What of the period immediately after the war?

"Reconstruction, to be successful, calls for the probing of the world's most potent brain power. All of it will be needed to prevent the worst cataclysm in history, if it can be prevented. No one knows how long the Ship of State will sail in troubled waters; why not leave it in charge of those who can navigate it, run its engines, repair possible damage?"

Once the immediate perils of the post-war period have been passed there will emerge the problems of a new order if civilization is to be secured and a reign of international peace established. To the attainment of this we shall have to revise our ideals and our social system. Creators, not money-makers, will need to be in the seat of power:

"A Supreme Court of eminent technicians should sit, and sit permanently, to tell the nation what it can do with its resources, its manpower, its learning, and should contrive to gather and coordinate, as it did during the war, the best thoughts of the nation. . . . If real construction is to be achieved, all of the country's efforts must be concentrated on the common good; if need be, let competitive struggles be suspended for the time being. . . . America must make her choice of new leaders. On her decision will rest the fate of the post-war age and the happiness of generations yet unborn."

It is in harmony with Mr. Eisenschiml's exhortation to add that in the realization of the common welfare through the guidance of technical skills there is needed, too, the vision of the better democracy, the truer equality, towards which America has struggled haltingly in the 150 years of the Great Experiment.

CARL GRABO

Sabotage! The Secret War Against America, by Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn. Harper & Brothers. New York. 266 pp. \$2.50.

This is a topical work, dealing with a subject that has not lost its fascination for all its exploitation by press, films, and radio. Sabotage and subversion—these are the hallmarks of the decade, the symbols of internal disruption and international anarchy. They are, in a very real sense, the horrible ironic measure of how far political morality has developed since the days of Machiavelli, who begins to assume by comparison the color of a gentleman and an amateur. The lurid details presented by the authors are in part familiar to every literate American. In these pages are accounts of foreign-language newspapers subsidized or terrorized, munition plants exploded, unions infiltrated, production lines paralyzed, of every device of treachery and terror that a diabolical imagination can conceive. The whole brew, with its spies, assassins, bundists, cartels, congressmen, is *surely* as unpalatable a concoction as history can present; and let it be said to the credit of the authors that they have not used a violent rhetoric or impassioned tone in their account. Artistic good judgment demanded that such theatrical materials be not burdened with an emotional language. This, then, is a sober recounting, in greater detail than we have had from our usual sources of information, of both the physical and psychological sabotage that has systematically been directed against the nation's effort to utilize its resources for war.

Since the authors do not go beyond the narrative, it will not be amiss to glance at one or two of the implications of the book.

Shrewdly the adepts at sabotage have aimed at the national idealism generated by the war. War breeds many things, idealism among them. After the cynical disillusionment left in the wake of the first World War, we are slowly coming to realize that a patriot need not be a scoundrel and that an intense nationalism is compatible with universal sympathies and a sane international outlook. The moral and economic bankruptcy of so many nations and the sight of humanity being drawn and quartered has stirred the national conscience to its depths; but it has done more than that. It has led

to a realistic appraisal of what is so frequently and so vaguely referred to as the Amercian way of life. There is a new humility about the deficiencies of that way of life, a new appreciation of its virtues—and a new determination that the virtues should spread to certain hapless peoples. This may be arrogance or evangelism or both; but it is still an idealism that has a decent and humane intent. It can be a mighty force when the time comes for good will to be exercised; and one of the national problems is to husband and direct it properly—indeed, it is a world problem. The saboteurs work for the destruction of this idealism; they mass their efforts toward dispersing it or overlaying it with cynicism, suspicion, petty nationalism. Not the least contribution of this book is that the psychological tricks aimed at a nation's integrity and sense of humanity are held up to the light.

Inadvertently perhaps, the book casts a rather reassuring light on the problem of racial and national minorities. Inevitably some Germans or Italians or Japanese of American citizenship have become willing instruments for committing sabotage; but one carries away from the reading a feeling that they are almost negligible, a strong sense that the assimilative process has in general worked well. America has wisely not insisted that the melting pot concept be forced to its ultimate conclusion: the creation of a uniform and regimented "American" way of life. It has taken great satisfaction in the variegated structure of its population and in their multiple cultures. This past tolerance of heterogeneity is in no way indicted by the facts of this book; yet the advocates of one hundred per centism, who are yowling now—even in congressional halls—and will yowl louder at the end of the war, may very well seize upon some of the instances recorded here to support their pleas for exclusion of aliens and for differential treatment of racial groups. Yet the cleavage in American life would seem to be not at all between native and alien but, potentially at least, between natives who are determined to give democracy a chance and natives who, for all their lip service, resist the democratic processes at every turn. The section of this book entitled *Psychological Sabotage* is subtle testimony to this painful fact.

LOUIS A. LANDA

Abraham Lincoln And The Fifth Column, by George Fort Milton. The Vanguard Press. 366 pp. \$3.50.

Here is a book about the Civil War that is as timely as this morning's newspaper. George Fort Milton, a distinguished historian who has specialized in the events of the eighteen-sixties, has given us a book relating to the past which will help our understanding of the crisis we face today. As the biographer of Stephen A. Douglas and Andrew Johnson, Mr. Milton is on familiar ground as he leads us through the maze of plot and counter-plot which for a time threatened the existence of the Union.

Mr. Milton does not attempt to present any parallels between the Copperheads of Civil War days and the Nazi sympathizers of today. His narrative is much more concerned with the appeasers and defeatists who skulked behind Fernando A. Wood and his *New York Daily News* and Cyrus McCormick and Wilbur F. Storey and their *Chicago Times*. Abraham Lincoln's battle with the forces of sedition and defeatism at times over-shadowed the military efforts of Grant and Sherman.

The firing on Fort Sumter occasioned a display of patriotic emotion similar to that which followed Pearl Harbor. Leading Democratic statesmen pledged their unqualified support to the Lincoln Administration. As the war progressed it became apparent that others had their own definition of "loyalty." "Fernando Wood made a few statements of his veneration for the dear old flag and then began to fill his paper with innuendo and subversive propaganda." In Ohio the Knights of the Golden Circle under the leadership of Dr. George W. L. Bickley began recruiting new members with the avowed purpose of aiding the Confederacy. Within a few months the order had spread through Kentucky, Indiana, and Missouri. Ultimately the order became known as the Order of the Sons of Liberty and according to reports of spies, had the following purposes: 1. To prevent a four-year succession of the war party. 2. To force a recognition of the Southern Confederacy's freedom. 3. To resist all military process and to prevent the re-election of the present Government by fraud at the ballot box, and if necessary by force. This order in 1864, received its death blow due mainly to the remarkable

work of Felix Grundy Stidger, whom Milton refers to as "The spy complete." Stidger managed to become a member of the Order of the Sons of Liberty, ultimately gained the confidence of General Bowles, the leader of the organization, and within a few months had become Secretary of the Grand Council of Kentucky. He sent the most detailed reports and warned Union authorities of every movement and activity of the organization. This portion of the book presents one of the most exciting stories of the Civil War and has never been told as thoroughly or as interestingly before.

In April, 1864, Jefferson Davis determined upon an effort to raise a revolt in the Northwest. This movement was to be directed from Canada by Confederate leaders and with the aid of Copperheads, Sons of Liberty and other groups were to gather in Chicago at the time of the Democratic Convention, release the prisoners at Camp Douglas, capture the Rock Island arsenal, cut telegraph lines, and effect as much damage as possible. At the same time another group was sent to Sandusky to seize Johnson's Island, release the prisoners there, and march to Louisville. Both movements fizzled out "owing to no fault of the Confederates but because of the cowardice of the parlor, hotel-lobby, and barroom fifth-columnists."

The high priest of peace at any price was Clement Laird Vallandigham, Congressman from Ohio. Handsome, high-spirited, and self-willed, his hatred of force led him to become the outstanding spokesman of the anti-war group. During 1862 he frequently took the floor of the House to denounce Lincoln's conduct of the war and particularly the Emancipation Proclamation and suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. He was determined that constitutional methods should be preserved even if these meant the defeat of the Union armies. General Burnside, the commander of the Military Department of the Ohio, arrested Vallandigham for voicing sympathy for those in arms against the Government of the United States in violation of General Order No. 38. This created a problem for Lincoln, who did not want to make a martyr out of the Ohioan. In reviewing this arrest Lincoln delivered one of his great state papers: "Long experience has shown that

armies cannot be maintained unless desertion shall be punished by the severe penalty of death. The case requires, and the law and the Constitution sanction, this punishment. Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert?" Lincoln then ordered Burnside to deliver Vallandigham to a point within the Confederate lines. Lincoln had turned the tables—Burnside had almost made a martyr of the man, the President had made him a comic character.

Much new material is revealed in this exciting book. Every episode is well authenticated—the author made an exhaustive study of the pertinent material in the National Archives, libraries, and private collections. The book is recommended to all who like to explore the by-paths of history. Here is a story that has never been told completely. Now that we are facing similar problems, let those individuals who are so free in their criticism of President Roosevelt read Mr. Milton's closing paragraph:

"It had taken time and patience, and the exercise of powers no other President had sought to wield. Yet through employing them—and perhaps only so—had this child of a Kentucky cabin, this master politician self-developed into a statesman, this backwoodsman who became a Commander in Chief extraordinary, this poet and prophet of the people, been able to keep the Union safe."

RALPH G. NEWMAN

City Lawyer: The Autobiography of a Law Practice. By Arthur Garfield Hays. Simon and Schuster, New York. 482 pp. \$3.00.

When three years ago Bellamy Partridge wrote his best seller, *Country Lawyer*, the reading public was charmed by his study in homespun of the lawyer on the byways of American life. The rural adventures, simple humor, and quiet meditations brought nostalgic memories to those who mourn the passing of the village inn and the volunteer fire brigade. *City Lawyer* is different as Broadway is different from Main Street. With New York as a focal point, a broad searchlight sweeps across the states and beyond the

Atlantic, and gathers within its wide horizon the lives and moods of many men. Here is the autobiography of a law practice which, starting in a small office in teeming New York, becomes in a short time international in scope and character. The author has penned the story of one of the most exciting law careers of our times.

The name Arthur Garfield Hays is associated in the news with civil liberties. For as chief counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, Hays has traveled far, wide, and often—across the continent and across the seas. The trial of the Scottsboro boys took him to the deep south in Alabama, the Sacco-Vanzetti case to New England, and the "monkey trial" of Dayton, Tennessee to the "bible belt" in the hill-billy country. The famous Dr. Sweet murder case saw Hays in Detroit, and Tom Mooney brought him to California. The birth of quintuplets took him to Canada, the firing of the Reichstag to Germany, and the bloody violation of civil liberties to Puerto Rico. Yes, Hays has traveled far and on both sides of the street—defending the civil liberties of radicals who cry, "Down with Wall Street!" for principle, and representing Wall Street bankers and brokerage houses for profit. *City Lawyer* is, as the author says, the biography of a law practice. But what a practice!

Hays was born in Rochester, New York, of German-Jewish parents in comfortable circumstances. In his early youth the family moved to New York City and it was here that Hays began his legal career. After a short term as a clerk with a respectable law firm, he formed a partnership with three classmates. The partners were ambitious and the firm progressed rapidly from a small office to spacious quarters at a Wall Street address. By 1914 the partnership was well established with a growing clientele. Then came the war and with it spectacular success and then disaster for the firm of Hays, Kaufmann, and Lindheim.

Hays went abroad to represent shipping interests and importers in prize court cases arising from the English blockade and the seizure of cargoes. While Hays was in Europe, his pro-German partner, Kaufmann, was not idle. Hays returned to New York from his successes in England to find that Hays, Kaufmann, and

Lindheim were counsel for the Imperial German Government.

The first two parts of the book dealing with what the author calls "biographical" reveal a happy facility to write interestingly and with unaffected humor. The chapter describing the firm's relations with the German Embassy and the subsequent trial, conviction, and disbarment of his two partners, Kaufmann and Lindheim, for their involvement in the intrigue and machinations which scandalized the nation, is written with dramatic fire and fervor. It is truth more absorbing than fiction.

The author's experiences as a champion of civil liberties, his role in progressive politics, together with his meditations on events and cases of the past take up the third part of the book, which is appropriately called "Salt in a Law Practice." The name of Clarence Darrow here appears frequently, for Darrow had been the author's idol ever since their common interest in defense of human rights brought them together. This part of the book, strangely enough, does not have the fascination found in other parts of the work. The reason is obvious. The subject matter is treated sketchily as reminiscences of the past, whereas Hays is at his best when writing in detail of specific cases or events.

In the practice of every lawyer there are perhaps three or four cases which are particularly memorable. And so it is with Hays. Part four of the book is devoted to a detailed treatment of five court cases in his experience at the bar, each selected as noteworthy for one reason or another. One case, the Wendel will case, brought the author the largest fee of his career. Another brought him no fee at all but made him a participant in a historical trial of far-reaching significance—the Reichstag Fire Trial held in Leipzig and Berlin which brought the Nazis to the attention of the world.

The story of Ella Wendel, the eccentric recluse who died leaving fifty million dollars, is quite well known. The intimate details of the Wendel will case, unique in many respects, with its thousands of claimants, heirs, and imposters from all over the world, its mysteries and rivalries, is here told with skill and imagination by one of its principal actors. In another famous case, we see through the

eyes of the author the trial of the Dutch, Bulgarian, and German Communists for the firing of the German Reichstag. The trial scene and related events are vividly painted. It is drama, real, stark, and gripping, masterfully presented.

The book closes with a short chapter depicting what Clarence Darrow, in writing to Hays, called "our kind." Our kind are mostly cynics and malcontents who would shake the smug reactionaries from their complacency. They have no fear of labels such as "socialist," "communist," "red," or "radical." They look to substance rather than form. Our kind abhor meanness. They respect, and will fight and die for, the rights of the individual. Our kind disclaim nobility and will confess to human frailties. The author pictures our kind as men of good will.

City Lawyer is more than a story of one lawyer's practice. It is a panorama of important epochs of our age. Through the pages of this book, we see the inner workings of a cross-section of American life in action. We are treated to an inside view of the workings of the stock brokers and "bucket shops" of Wall Street in the days of frenzied finance in the 20's. We see the beginnings of the co-operative movements of playwrights, authors, and composers to protect their interests. We catch a glimpse of one section of the world in World War I. And we see, too, the reaction in some of our backward states where there is no civil liberty unless it harmonizes with the views and prejudices of the locality.

As counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, it was Hays's privilege to participate in some of the most memorable cases of our times. *City Lawyer* is the chronicle of a full and active life replete with the experiences which little boys envision when they dream of becoming lawyers. Arthur Garfield Hays was, indeed, a happy warrior and his picturesque career is fascinating to lawyers and laymen alike.

DAVID F. SILVERZWEIG

Rich People and Other Stories. By Betty M. Tigay. L. M. Stein, Publishers, Chicago, 1942. 273 pp. \$2.00.

As often as the trained sociologist, whose vocation it is to study and to report on the growth and development of society, may the fiction writer in a story

or a novel achieve an approach to the truth. The narrative, of necessity, will deal with effects rather than causes, but in the depiction of a given phenomenon the reader may sense impelling motivation of human behavior.

Mrs. Tigay, in her book, draws upon rich and abundant material to tell a story. Her characters are never static and there are in their delineation seldom happy and pretty colors. Hers are mainly chronicles of the maladjustment of the immigrants in a strange environment, of bewilderment and frustration. Always sympathetic and profoundly in touch with her material she is honestly on the job to limn a realistic portrait. In the title story, for instance, *Rich People* she writes of the nobility of a woman, once a victim of Nazi persecution, who surrenders an opportunity to ease her lot for the sake of a fellow Nazi-victim.

Benny's Tragedy is an amusing and yet a pathetic narrative of a Jewish boy's experience with religious instruction against the background of the training of an American public school. The *Mitzva* is an effective and a daring indictment of alleged folkways in old Russian Poland; a rabbi, whose wife is incapable of child bearing divorces the woman so that he may obtain a spouse who could become a mother.

There are stories which treat of anti-semitism, stories which condemn the ruthlessness of an environment which thwarts the immigrants' aspirations toward self-sufficiency and recognition. The author knows her people and she understands them. Her book of short stories is a sincere effort to bring that knowledge and understanding to the reader. And in that she is successful.

B. W.

LEO SHAPIRO

THE CHICAGO JEWISH FORUM is pleased to announce the appointment of Professor Leo Shapiro, of DePaul University, as Associate Editor. Professor Shapiro is a member of the Advisory Editorial Board, Modern Language Association of America. His articles have appeared in *Modern Language Association* publications, in *English Review*, and in *Poetry Magazine*.

EDITORIAL

AS WE GO TO PRESS WITH OUR SECOND ISSUE, the world outlook is infinitely more heartening than it was three months ago. At that time, we were, to be sure, confident. We had confidence in our cause, confidence in our accumulating power, confidence in our leadership. But at that time we were sustained more by our hope and trust than by a knowledge of the facts. Our situation was grim. We were fighting a delaying action in the Pacific. Our Russian ally was bearing the full brunt of the enemy's might and fury. And in the Atlantic we seemed to be no nearer the enemy than we had been at the beginning of the war. On every front the enemy seemed to have the upper hand.

Now, however, we have reached the turning point in the war. Both the President and Mr. Churchill agree on this. Nevertheless, we are warned against over-confidence. . . . We have reached only "the end of the beginning," says Mr. Churchill. "We have had an uphill fight," says the President, "and it will continue to be uphill all the way. There can be no coasting to victory."

Readers of this publication—all liberals, and especially all Jewish liberals, know what these warnings mean. For us, there is never any coasting, either in war or peace. The struggle for progress is always uphill. There is no time for relaxation, no time for complacency—now or ever. But now we are concerned with only one problem. "This is no time for exultation," says the President. "There is no time now for anything but fighting and working to win."

To this we must subscribe without reservation. We want a just peace. We are concerned about the future, now as always. But we must win the war. And we must have faith in the leadership, the glorious leadership, that the tides of fortune have given us in this most critical hour.

The reaction of those of our readers who have written us has been one of enthusiastic approval. Without exception, all feel that **THE CHICAGO JEWISH FORUM** answers an important need. They are pleased above all with the breadth of interest and the sustained liberalism which are expressed in the articles of the journal. We promise our readers that we shall try to merit their continued respect. We hope to make **THE CHICAGO JEWISH FORUM** a medium for every significant aspect of twentieth-century Jewish thought. This is by no means an insular purpose, for we believe that these aspects in combination have fruitful and rich connections with every major problem of the day. We have received encouraging support from many writers, artists, scholars, and public men. We therefore feel sure that ours will be, as much as possible, a universal and total perspective, representative of all groups and schools of thought. To that end, we invite the cooperation and aid of all our readers.

Letter to the Editor

Sir:

Among the various interesting contributions in your first issue, there is one which calls for special remark. I do not agree at all with Mr. Samuel P. Gurman's review of "The Post's Jewish Articles." This seems to me all the more regrettable because he starts out in a very excellent way by saying, "Of import, apart from the great stir they (these articles) have created, there is almost none." After such a statement, however, one should have expected that the reviewer would go on dealing with what is, according to him, of great import, namely the "stir," which has been brought about in the minds of Jewish readers. For it is time to realize that the almost morbid touchiness with which so many Jews have reacted to some of the *Post's* articles, indicates a deep-seated neurosis. It indicates a state of mind which is bent upon escape from its own shape and nature, to the point of asserting that it has no shape and nature at all while, at the same time, it is realized subconsciously that the roots of Jewishness, if hidden, are deep and ineradicable. This is a pathetic plight indeed. It is the plight of the modern Jew, and this plight is all the more severe because most of the victims, as it is the usual way with the subtle diseases of the mind, have not brought, and have not been helped to bring, the disease to clear consciousness. I am afraid, moreover, that this is also the case with the writer of the article on "The Post's Jewish Articles." Otherwise, he would not have turned around Waldo Frank's statement about "the distinctive qualities of the Jew" into a statement about "Jewish superiority" in order to be able to designate it as a "palpable untruth." He would not have called Waldo Frank's and Milton Mayer's assertion that there is a unique Jewish character a "mystical concept" while he looks upon Jerome Frank's and Wendell Willkie's equally unproved and much more utopian assertion that we are "all alike" with wholehearted approval. To the contrary, the glaring fact is that we are not "alike" but that we merely want to be regarded that way.

We are not "all alike"—Mr. Gurman and all our protestations to the contrary—and we know it full well. Why, if it

were otherwise, would we want to "preserve our heritage" if there were no distinct heritage to preserve? Why should we, upon becoming "Bar-mitzvahd," say: "Asher bohar-banu mi-col-ho-amin, venotan lanu et-thorate?" Why would we edit and read a *JEWISH FORUM*, why, indeed, would we care to contribute papers to be published within its pages? All this testified clearly that we are distinct and unique. As a matter of fact, our distinctiveness and uniqueness shines out so forcefully that every Gentile observer can see it from far away. Let us, therefore, not delude ourselves with the belief that we can deceive him by assertions of wishful thinking and still keep his respect and friendship. At best, we would look slightly ridiculous, to him, but at worst we would look insincere. Our efforts "to become as one with the majority," as Mr. Gurman puts it, will be of no avail in the face of the facts as they are.

We had better own up to the obvious fact that we are Jews and that we want to remain so. But—so what! Let us be clear that if we cannot be accepted for what we are, we will not be accepted at all. If "a passion for homogeneity"—which, according to Professor Giddings and Mr. Gurman, has been characteristic of the ancient world—is likewise characteristic of a modern democracy, what good, then, is such a democracy? Is this a "tolerance" which tolerates me only if I look, think, feel, pray, speak and act exactly like everyone else? I would call this a totalitarian intolerance of the highest order. My conception of a true democracy is that my neighbor has the right to be as different from me as he actually is and to disagree with me as much as he wants to without this fact impairing in the slightest his equality and his basic dignity as a citizen and as a human being. In such a democracy there would be no need for us to assert that "we are men like other men"; we could stand up as we are and still be equals. Our goal is not a levelling down of differences which could make humanity appear as an assembly of identical twins, but the acknowledgment of differences in cooperation and fellowship.

Werner J. Canman

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